BRIDGING THE OPPORTUNITY DIVIDE: HOW LOW-INCOME, BLACK FAMILIES NAVIGATE SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND SCHOOLS

by
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Abstract

Given the powerful and persistent link between residential segregation and educational inequality across metropolitan areas, this study capitalizes on a housing mobility program designed to provide eligible low-income families in Baltimore, Maryland with a housing subsidy and counseling support to assist them with residential moves into lower poverty and less racially segregated neighborhoods across the metropolitan region. The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program (BHMP) has created dramatic and durable changes in neighborhood and school contexts for participating low-income, Black families. This dissertation examines both the *process* of making this residential and school change, and its *effects* on children's academic achievement. The findings show that moving with the BHMP is initially disruptive to children's achievement, but over time there is a significant improvement in students' test scores. After moving with the BHMP youth access higher performing schools, but experience disruptions to their existing social ties. Younger youth more easily establish new friendships after moving than adolescents, and experience the dual benefits of more time in lower poverty communities and a network of suburban friends who serve as a source of support for their engagement in suburban schools. Although parents frequently moved with the BHMP to access improved school contexts for their children, they unexpectedly faced more restrictive school policies around their own school-based participation in the suburbs. Together the findings show that housing policy can bridge the educational opportunity divide between urban and suburban districts, but families' ability to reap the full benefits of their more affluent neighborhoods and schools depends on their social integration and inclusion in these new settings.

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For my mother,
who showed me how to be an intellectual woman

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Even in an era of expanding school choice, there remains a powerful and persistent link between residential segregation and educational inequality across metropolitan areas in the United States (Reardon, Yun, Eitle 2000; Rivkin 1994). Neighborhood racial and socioeconomic segregation frequently restrict school attendance for poor, minority students to high poverty and racially segregated schools, often in urban school districts. These schools stand in stark contrast to those in surrounding suburban districts, which are typically resource-rich by comparison (Rivkin 1994). Scholarship strongly points to the detrimental effects of concentrated poverty on youth (Sharkey, 2010; Sampson, Sharkey and Raudenbush, 2008; Jencks and Mayer, 1990), and many school and housing policies are designed around the assumption that affording low-income, minority youth with access to more affluent neighborhoods and schools will have a positive effect on their educational outcomes and life-chances (Briggs 1997; Rosenbaum 1994). However, due to the persistent patterns of segregation, research remains limited on whether these same low-income children will fare better when growing up in more advantaged neighborhoods and attending higher quality schools (Sharkey, 2010; Sampson, Sharkey and Raudenbush, 2008; Jencks and Mayer, 1990; DeLuca and Dayton 2009). Essentially, the question remains whether the basic underpinning policy assumption holds true in practice: Do children's educational outcomes improve after moving to more affluent neighborhoods and enrolling in higher-performing schools?

In part, the evidence to answer this question is limited because of Supreme Court decisions that severely restricted the education policy options for addressing persistent forms of school segregation. For example, the *Milliken v. Bradley* decision in 1974, limited metropolitan-wide desegregation, and the more recent *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* decision in 2006, restricted the conditions under which districts can implement race-conscious plans to desegregate schools (Hobday, Finn and Orfield 2009). These decisions have largely disallowed the creation of inter-district school choice options, which would afford families in higher-poverty and minority segregated urban districts with access to more affluent and majority white suburban schools. In this context, school racial segregation levels shifted sharply from within- to between-school districts from about 1970 to 1990 (Clotfelter 1999; Reardon and Yun 2001; Rivkin 1994). Thus, the districts where families live are still a major determinant of the quality of children's schools, with significant implications for social inequality, economic mobility, and racial segregation.

Segregated urban schools often have fewer educational resources (Orfield and Lee 2006), less experienced teachers, larger class sizes (Loeb and Reininger 2004), and higher rates of violence both inside and outside the school building (Burdick-Will 2011). Even when other student, family and school factors are accounted for, attending a racially segregated school significantly lowers achievement and educational attainment, and contributes to the persistence of the black-white achievement gap (Bankston and Caldas 1996; Borman and Overman 2004; Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2009; Mickelson 2001; Orfield and Lee 2006). And yet, existing education policies can provide only limited tools for disrupting these patterns of inequality across our metropolitan areas. This

dissertation explores the consequences of a different type of policy approach to reducing metropolitan-wide patterns of inequality: residential mobility.

To examine whether housing policy can be used to address the persistent patterns of educational inequality and racial segregation across U.S. metropolitan areas, this dissertation capitalizes on a residential mobility program in Baltimore, Maryland. Through the provision of housing voucher subsidies, the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program (BHMP) helps low-income families make dramatic, and durable, changes in their neighborhoods and schools. This study examines both the *process* of making a significant change in neighborhood and school context and its *effects*, in order to critically evaluate the basic assumption that affording low-income families with access to more affluent and less racially segregated neighborhoods and schools will positively affect children's educational outcomes. Through a multi-method approach, this dissertation both quantitatively assesses the effects of the program on students' academic achievement using administrative data from the BHMP for 15,194 children paired with Maryland State Department of Education test score records; and qualitatively examines the process of adjusting to new communities and schools after moving with the BHMP by drawing upon in-depth qualitative interviews with a stratified random sample of 88 low-income, Black parents and 79 youth.

This study demonstrates that although residential mobility may not be a 'quick-fix' for educational inequality, it can generate meaningful change in families' social contexts that has a positive impact over time. The quantitative analyses show that moving with the BHMP is initially disruptive to children's achievement, but over time there is a small, but significant improvement in students' test scores. The qualitative analyses

illustrate that after moving with the BHMP, youth enroll in higher performing schools but face the challenge of a disruption to their existing social ties. Younger youth more easily establish new friendships after moving, and experience the dual benefits of more time in lower poverty communities and a network of suburban friends who serve as a source of support for their engagement in suburban schools. Although parents frequently moved with the BHMP to gain access to improved school contexts for their children, they unexpectedly faced more restrictive school policies when they attempted to communicate with and participate in suburban schools. Together the findings show that housing policy can bridge the educational opportunity divide between urban and suburban districts, but families' ability to reap the full benefits of their more affluent neighborhoods and schools depends on their social integration and inclusion in these new settings. It is the policies and practices of their new schools, and the specific characteristics of their new neighborhoods, that influence how families navigate this social transition.

Residential Mobility Programs

Existing research highlights that many middle-class families leverage their residential choice as a tool for accessing the schools they want their children to attend, frequently moving into suburban school districts (Holme 2002; Lareau 2014; Johnson, 2014). In contrast, lower-income and minority families are often unable to exercise their preferences in a similar way (Shapiro & Johnson, 2000), and poor families more frequently decouple their residential and school choices in the face of hard-to-find housing (Rhodes & DeLuca, 2014). Financial constraints make it difficult for low-income families to access the residential areas necessary to enroll their children in the highest

performing schools (Johnson, 2014). Social networks also strongly shape residential and school choices for families (Lareau 2014), but the networks of low-income families do not always have information about which schools are the most highly ranked, or what school choice options are available (Horvat, Weininger, and Lareau 2003; Neild 2005; Schneider et al. 2000). The combination of structural factors, economic constraints, network information, and individual preferences lead low-income minority families to have a significantly harder time translating their resources into housing and neighborhood amenities (Charles 2003; Deluca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2013; Desmond 2016; Krysan, Crowder, and Bader 2014; Logan and Alba 1993). As a result, these families tend to move within or between poor and minority-segregated neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1993; Yinger 1995).

Residential mobility programs are designed to make different types of residential choices available to low-income families. The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program, studied in this dissertation, is a unique mobility program that was designed as the result of a class action lawsuit in Baltimore, MD. However, this program is part of a longer history of housing interventions crafted in the wake of federal demonstrations and fair housing litigation. Thus, it is necessary to briefly examine the scholarship on these prior programs; I focus on the findings related to educational effects in order to put my analyses of the BHMP into context.

By making new neighborhoods affordable through a housing voucher subsidy, residential mobility programs ostensibly provide families with the opportunity to leverage residential choice as a form of school choice – as is more frequently observed among middle-class families (Johnson, 2014; Lareau 2014). However, the existing research on

residential mobility programs has produced mixed evidence about the effects of housing mobility on children's educational outcomes (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015; Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006).

One of the first housing voucher programs was created as the result of a court ordered remedy to a housing desegregation lawsuit in 1966, *Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority* (Polikoff 2006; Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2000). Beginning in the 1970s, over 7,000 low income black families, who were currently or previously in Chicago's public housing projects, were eligible to receive housing vouchers to lease units in neighborhoods that were 30 percent African American or less. Through quasi-random assignment to housing units, families moved to neighborhoods across the Chicago metropolitan area. In the implementation of this program about half of the families moved to mostly white suburbs and half moved to non-public housing city neighborhoods. After moving, students attending suburban schools expressed more positive attitudes towards school, and these students were more likely to finish high school and enter college than the students who moved within the city of Chicago (Rosenbaum and Popkin 1991; Kaufman & Rosenbaum 1992). However, there were no significant differences in children's grades between suburban and city movers, although Rosenbaum (1995) argues that this may be driven by a more rigorous academic environment in the suburbs, making it more difficult to attain higher grades.

After the end of the original Gautreaux program, a second program – Gautreaux II – was established in 2002. This program continued providing housing vouchers to Chicago public housing residents, but Gautreaux II struggled with relatively low take-up, since many families faced significant barriers to finding housing and making a residential

move (Pashup et al. 2005). Families who did move with Gautreaux II were able to make significant neighborhood changes with their voucher; however, these changes were not durable, as families fairly quickly moved back to higher-poverty and more segregated neighborhoods (Boyd et al. 2010). Even though "one-third (35%) of the secondary movers did note that they recognized that their children were benefiting from the higher quality of the new schools" (Boyd et al. 2010, p. 138), this was not enough to keep them from making a subsequent move. Families mentioned difficulty adjusting to new neighborhoods as outweighing the potential school benefits.

Given the significant positive findings from the initial *Gautreaux* program, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) undertook a more comprehensive demonstration study of the effects of offering families in public housing with vouchers to subsidize rent costs in more advantaged areas. The study was designed as a randomized control trial in five cities. Between 1994 and 1998, the Moving to Opportunity program (MTO) assigned families at random to one of three groups: control group families (who received no subsidy), a Section 8 group (who received Housing Choice Vouchers with no locational restrictions), and an experimental group (who received a voucher valid to use in a low-poverty neighborhood and assistance from housing counselors). Although there were positive mental health effects for girls (Kling, Liebman, Katz 2007; Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2011), assessments of educational outcomes during the interim study of the MTO program, conducted four to seven years after families first moved, found no statistically significant gains in children's academic performance (Orr et al. 2003; Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006). However, data showed that children in the participating families frequently attended schools after moving with MTO

similar to their original neighborhood schools (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006). Therefore, although the MTO program shows non-significant educational effects, it does not provide a way to truly test whether student achievement improves after large gains in school quality.

Additional, long-term qualitative analyses of youth participating in the MTO program illustrate that these children make notable educational strides compared to their parents, but continue to face obstacles to college entry (DeLuca, Clampet-Lundquist, Edin 2016). Further quantitative analysis of the long-term effects of the MTO program showed positive and significant effects on outcomes such as college enrollment and earnings for youth in their mid-twenties (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). Notably, however, there was significant heterogeneity in these effects, as they were only positive and significant for youth who were younger than 13 at the time of random assignment. In contrast there were no significant effects for adolescents, ages 13 to 18, and many of the relationships were negative (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). This study has reinvigorated the debate about how access to more affluent neighborhoods affects the life chances of low-income youth, and has sparked particular questions about the mechanisms that underpin the age differences in youth outcomes.

Another study in Montgomery County, Maryland, although not a voucher based mobility program, exploited the random assignment of families to public housing units across this suburban county. Students enrolled in schools based on their residential location, allowing Schwartz (2010) to examine the effect of attending a low poverty school on student achievement. Seven years after moving, youth who moved into public housing units that allowed them to enroll in low-poverty schools significantly

outperformed their peers attending moderate or high poverty elementary schools in math and reading (Schwartz 2010). Furthermore, this study found added academic benefits, independent of the school effect, from living in a very low poverty neighborhood (Schwartz 2010). While this suggests that housing programs that provide access to higher income neighborhoods and schools can improve student achievement, these families were a less disadvantaged population of public housing residents and few municipalities have sufficiently progressive inclusionary zoning policies to create similar public housing options.

These past studies leave several open questions regarding the effect of housing policies on students' academic outcomes. The Gautreaux program showed significant promise but relies on self-reported data. The MTO program utilizes an experimental design and does not find significant effects, but MTO did not create large changes in school contexts for students. The Montgomery County study shows significant improvement for students in low-poverty schools but is a less scalable design and program structure than housing voucher programs, and the Gautreaux II program was unable to create durable changes in neighborhood and school context. Given the mixed results of the effects of previous programs in youth academic outcomes my dissertation examines the more recent Baltimore Housing Mobility Program, which supports large and durable changes in families' residential and school contexts.

Chapter Outline and Framing

The chapters of my dissertation bring together quantitative and qualitative analyses to examine the effects of moving with the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program

on children's academic achievement, and the social process of navigating the neighborhood and school change for youth and parents. To begin, chapter two provides a description of the BHMP, and sets the stage for the following chapters by outlining the improvements in neighborhood and school contexts that families experience after moving with the program. This chapter also outlines the quantitative and qualitative data used for the analyses in chapters three through five. These analytic chapters of my dissertation are designed as separate papers, drawing on a broad set of literatures and theoretical frameworks. I briefly describe these chapters and the theory they draw upon below.

In chapter three, I focus on how moving with the BHMP affects children's academic achievement. Relying on the conceptualization of concentrated poverty and racial segregation as negative influences on children's development (Sampson 2012), this chapter examines the effect of moving to lower-poverty and more racially diverse neighborhood contexts with the BHMP on children's achievement. Through the use of students' test scores on the Maryland School Assessment, the achievement test given in grades three through eight, this chapter illustrates that moving with the BHMP is initially disruptive to children's learning. Children show a small but significant drop in their math scores one year after moving with the program. However, these students slowly recover their academic footing, steadily increasing their test scores over time. This improvement reaches statistical significance about five years after moving with the BHMP. Additional findings suggest that, for this sample of students, enrolling in higher-performing schools is one of the key factors supporting students' academic growth in the face of the disruption caused by their residential move and subsequent school transfers. The finding of an initial disruption to student achievement, likely reflects that students face a set of

social challenges as they transition into a new schools, and research shows that parents can be a key source of support for students making this kind of transition (Wells and Crain 1997). So in chapter four, I turn to an examination of how parents navigate the transition into new school contexts.

In recent decades, parent involvement has become a focus of education reform, based largely on the assumption that greater parent involvement will promote students' learning (Borenstein 2012). However, parent school participation is also a source of inequality in schools, for research shows that middle-class, white parents typically experience more inclusion in the school context, and through their participation middle-class parents are able to activate school resources to support their child's learning (Lareau 2000; Lareau and Horvat 1999; Lewis-McCoy 2014). This chapter relies on Lareau and Horvat's (1999) articulation of "moments of inclusion" and "moments of exclusion" in the school context, which argues that middle-class, white parents are better able to structure their school participation in ways that meet school expectations. When schools legitimize their involvement, these parents are able to gain greater access to school resources for their children in "moments of inclusion." I connect this with Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995; 1997) social psychological model of parent involvement, which argues that a parent's basic involvement decision is influenced by parental role construction, parent's sense of efficacy, and invitations for involvement. I argue that when parents experience "moments of inclusion" in their children's schools, it encourages parents' sense of efficacy in the school context. Inclusion also encourages a construction of the parental role that involves greater participation in their children's schools. In other words, inclusive and successful school participation by parents begets

further participation, as parents believe that they can successfully support their child's learning through their participation.

Using in-depth interviews with a stratified random sample of 88 low-income, African American parents, chapter four illustrates that for many parents, moving to a suburban neighborhood with the BHMP was an explicit parenting strategy designed to provide their children with access to improved educational opportunities. Contrary to the existing literature that suggests low-income and minority parents typically have lower levels of school involvement (Lareau 1987; Lareau 2011; Lareau and Horvat 1999), this chapter illustrates a deep investment in education and school participation among a sample of low-income, Black parents. However, this move created a tradeoff between access to higher-performing schools for their children and reduced participation by parents, as suburban schools often rejected and de-legitimized common forms of school-based participation accepted in city schools. These "moments of exclusion" reduced parents' physical presence at their children's schools, limited parents' sense of efficacy in the school context, and led parents to reconstruct their educational role to focus on involvement at home. However, there was a notable exception to this pattern, as the parents of children with IEPs experienced greater inclusion at their children's schools. Due to federal mandates in the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act, schools were required to develop policies that involved the parents' of students with IEPs in the educational decision-making process. This afforded parents a greater level of power and a sense of efficacy in the school context. These "moments of inclusion" provided parents a level of knowledge and a set of skills that they could utilize to work with, and when necessary challenge, the school to support their child's learning and access school

resources for their child. As federal education policies continue to focus on increasing parent involvement, this chapter illustrates that the design of local school policies is a key factor for encouraging parent participation.

While parents faced an unexpected tradeoff around their school participation after moving to suburban school districts, children faced a more anticipated tradeoff between disruption to their existing social ties and access to improved neighborhood and school contexts. By moving out of Baltimore city and into surrounding suburban counties, the BHMP move often took children quite far away from their existing friends. In chapter five, I analyze in-depth qualitative interviews with a stratified random sample of 79 youth whose families moved with the BHMP to examine the process of navigating this social transition for children.

This chapter builds on the recent long-term analyses of the MTO program, which found positive and significant effects on children's college enrollment and earnings, among other outcomes, for children whose families were assigned an MTO voucher prior to the age of thirteen, but not for older adolescents (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). Although this research points to age heterogeneity in children's outcomes following residential mobility, questions remain about the mechanisms that explain why youth of different ages have divergent outcomes. The analysis in chapter five draws on ecological systems theory, which argues that children's engagement with their social contexts changes as they age (Aber et al. 1997; Bronfenbrenner 1979). Children are embedded within a set of ecological contexts, such as the family, school, and neighborhood. During early childhood, family is the primary influence on children's development, but as youth grow older contexts outside the home grow in importance (Aber et al. 1997;

Bronfenbrenner 1979; Berndt 1996; Ellen and Turner 1997). In particular, as youth enter adolescence peer relationships grow more intimate and begin to play a larger role in providing social support (Steinberg and Morris 2001). Given the importance of peer relationships, scholars have long argued that peers are one potential mechanism for neighborhood effects (Crane 1991; Ellen and Turner 1997; Jencks and Mayer 1990; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000). Chapter five analyzes the intersection of child development and residential mobility to examine how youth of different ages navigate the social process of adjusting to lower poverty and more racially integrated neighborhoods and schools after moving.

The findings in chapter five illustrate large differences in the process of friendship formation between youth who move during middle childhood and those who move during adolescence. Adolescents in this sample more frequently adopt a strategically cautious approach to engaging with new peers in their new neighborhoods and schools, and hesitate to form new friendships. In contrast, youth who move at younger ages quickly form friendships in their new communities. For younger children their friends then amplify the potential influence of their new schools by serving as a source of support for their engagement and motivation in school. Youth who move at younger ages experience the dual advantages of less exposure to high-poverty neighborhoods and an easier process of establishing new friendships in their suburban communities. Thus, this chapter proposes that friendship formation may serve as a key mechanism underpinning heterogeneity by age in neighborhood effects.

Each of these chapters is designed as a separate analytic paper, with unique contributions to different literatures and theoretical traditions. Together, these chapters

reflect that a housing mobility program can create dramatic and positive change in families' neighborhoods that bridges the educational opportunity divide across metropolitan areas. And through this type of residential mobility, neighborhood change can positively affect students' academic achievement. However, this mobility also generates a set of tradeoffs that families must navigate. Although their new neighborhoods and schools offer a host of resources, for many of the low-income, Black families in this sample it was challenging to build the social ties and relationships that would help them access and activate these resources. The basic assumption that this form of residential mobility will lead to positive effects on children's outcomes must therefore be nuanced by a deeper examination of the mechanisms through which these contexts affect children's learning and life chances. When we overlook these mechanisms we lessen our ability to provide families with programmatic support that could further facilitate positive outcomes.

CHAPTER 2

The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program: Description and Data Sources

A class of plaintiffs in Baltimore, MD sued the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC) in 1995 for failure to provide public housing residents with equal access to integrated, non-poor neighborhoods across the metropolitan region. Plaintiff complaints highlighted a long history of discrimination in the siting of public housing within Baltimore. In 1996, the court approved a partial settlement, finding HUD, but not HABC, liable for violating the Fair Housing Act of 1968. In January 2005, Judge Garbis issued a Memorandum of Decision in the case, which stated: "It is with respect to HUD, and its failure adequately to consider a regional approach to desegregation of public housing, that the Court finds liability…the Fair Housing Act requires [HUD] to 'administer [housing] programs…in a manner affirmatively to further the policies of [the Act].' These policies include the provision of housing free from discrimination.'" (*Thompson et al. v. HUD et al., #95–309-D. MD*).

To address this legal violation, one part of the settlement called for the provision of regionally administered housing vouchers that provide rental assistance to current public housing residents, individuals on the waiting list for public housing, and those on the waiting list for Section 8 vouchers through August of 2002.[1] The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program (BHMP) was created to provide these vouchers. Families began

[1] With the final settlement in 2012, household eligibility was expanded to include families living in hyper-segregated neighborhoods of Baltimore city. This change occurred after the families were selected for this study.

moving with the program in 2003 and continue to actively move with the BHMP, as the final settlement, handed down in November of 2012, provided for the issuance of additional vouchers and further funding to support current voucher holders. To date over 3,100 households have moved with the program.

While many participants in the traditional Housing Choice Voucher program (formerly called Section 8) continue to face barriers to geographic mobility, such as limited portability of vouchers that make it difficult to lease-up in a wide variety of neighborhoods across a metropolitan area (see Greenlee 2011); the BHMP was designed to eliminate these barriers. The BHMP is administered by a non-profit agency separately from the Housing Authority of Baltimore City.[2] The program dispenses with traditional portability rules and is regionally administered, allowing participants to move to six counties across the metropolitan area: Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Howard County, Anne Arundel County, Carroll County, Harford County, and Queen Anne's County. To make moving to more affluent suburban neighborhoods affordable, the BHMP utilizes a higher rent payment standard than traditional housing choice vouchers, up to 120 percent of the Fair Market Rent. This also reduces financial incentives for leasing-up in city neighborhoods with lower rent costs. The BHMP also works with local foundations to offer additional sources of assistance; including help with security deposit costs and purchasing used cars.

To address the nature of the legal violations caused by the failure to consider regional approaches to public housing and the repeated placement of public housing in highly segregated and impoverished neighborhoods in Baltimore city, the decree ruled

[2] From 2003 to 2015, Metropolitan Baltimore Quadel (MBQ), a private contractor, administered the program, and from 2015 to present the Baltimore Regional Housing Partnership (BRHP) has taken over the program management.

that vouchers must, for the first year of lease-up,[3] be used in "opportunity neighborhoods." The program defined an "opportunity neighborhood" as a census tract where no more than 10 percent of households are below the poverty line, where no more than 30 percent of the residents are African American, and where no more than 5 percent of units are public housing.[4] After the first year, voucher holders may use their voucher to lease a unit to any neighborhood of their choice.

When a potential participant signs up for the program they undergo an initial process that verifies their eligibility, certifies their membership in the legally affected class, and they undergo traditional background checks for housing voucher recipients. Those who are eligible to participate are then required to attend a series of workshops and counseling sessions. These sessions are intended to help prepare the participants to use their voucher to move out of Baltimore City (where the large majority live at the time they sign up) to surrounding suburban county neighborhoods.[5] These workshops and meetings provide skills and coaching to improve negotiations with landlords, maintain households, and budget to save for security deposits and other costs. Participants are also required to work on addressing any outstanding debts that remain on their credit, as a way to prepare them to pass landlord credit checks, and participants must have a security deposit ready before they receive their voucher. Through the counseling and housing search process, counselors and workshop facilitators encourage applicants to think about

[3] Starting in 2012 this requirement was extended to two years, after which families may move to any neighborhood of their choice and retain their voucher.
[4] In 2015, the BHMP changed its definition of an "opportunity neighborhood" from these percentages of race, income, and public housing to a composite designation based on the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) Opportunity Index; the Opportunity Mapping Advisory Panel (OMAP) opportunity index; and supplemented by HUD Picture of Subsidized Households data, Maryland school performance data (MSA test scores), ACS data, and BHMP administrative data.
[5] There are almost no eligible census tracts within Baltimore City, and participants are told at their initial briefing that they should search for units in suburban county neighborhoods, discouraging any moves to the city from the outset.

the benefits that living in higher opportunity areas can bring to their children and families, highlighting gains in safety and school quality, as well as the quality of the homes and the quiet neighborhoods that participants can enjoy after relocating.

Once participants receive their voucher, the program offers periodic tours of suburban neighborhoods and housing units available to program participants. The BHMP staff actively work to establish relationships with landlords in qualifying neighborhoods to help provide participants with housing options that fulfill program requirements. The tours will show participants units that are available for rent by these landlords. If participants choose to search for a unit on their own, counselors work with participants to ensure that they find a unit that meets the program requirements. In addition, program staff members conduct inspections of housing units to ensure that participants are moving into safe units that do not have any code violations, and that the units are not on block faces with vacant or abandoned homes. If families chose to relocate after their first year lease, additional workshops are provided to help families navigate their subsequent housing search as well as to encourage and assist these families to remain in high opportunity neighborhoods. This continued counseling is a unique and important component of the BHMP administrative support for participants. As part of this provision of services, and ongoing program management, the BHMP maintains a database of enrolled and participating households.

Administrative Data

The analyses for this study draw from two sources of administrative data. The first is the BHMP database, which includes demographic, residential, and program

participation information for all families who applied for, received, or moved with a BHMP voucher. The second source of data is from the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE), which includes statewide test scores and attendance data matched to all children in the BHMP database. These datasets are merged with the Decennial Census, the American Community Survey, and National Center for Education Statistics' Common Core of Data, all of which provide additional covariates related to school and neighborhood context before and after program participation.

BHMP Administrative Data

The BHMP first provided their administrative database in 2005 with additional data updates in 2007, 2010 and 2012.[6] It includes demographic data on each family, a housing roster (including date of birth for each household member), the household's residential trajectory, and information on income and program eligibility. Households in the database can be divided into two categories, those who moved with the voucher and those who applied but had not yet relocated (movers and potential movers, hereafter).[7] In total, the dataset contains 7,790 households with 15,194 children, including 1,503 mover families with 3,345 children and 6,287 potential mover families (who enrolled with the program but had not yet leased with a voucher) with 11,849 children. Table 2.1 summarizes the demographic profile of the households and children in the BHMP administrative database. These families are primarily female-headed households (over 97 percent of households for movers and potential movers), and the head of household is 35 years of age on average for movers and just over 37 for potential movers. The heads of

[6] A partial update was provided in 2014, which is excluded from these analyses because of missing data.
[7] Potential mover households are still eligible to complete the program requirements and lease-up with a voucher.

household are also over 99 percent Black, reflecting the racial segregation of the eligible plaintiff class from the *Thompson et al. v. HUD* case. These households are disadvantaged, with just under 20% of both movers and potential movers receiving cash assistance at baseline. Another 20% of the households in both groups were receiving SSI benefits before moving. Mover households report an average pre-move income, in 2012 dollars, of $13,416 compared to only $6,702 among potential movers. Given that families must pay off debts on their credit and save towards a security deposit these differences in income may reflect selection between movers and potential movers. However, this reported income may not be fully verified for all potential movers, so their lower average income may reflect under-reporting, which would be adjusted as they move through the counseling process. The average number of children in the household was an average of about 2 for mover and potential mover households.

The regional administration of the BHMP means that participating families could move to neighborhoods across six counties in the metropolitan region, Table 2.2 provides a summary of the first destination counties for households in the BHMP database. The majority of households have not yet moved, but among movers, the majority move to Baltimore County and Howard County, while very few move to Carroll County. This pattern is also reflected in the qualitative sample, which was stratified by the first move destination county.

For the families who have moved with the BHMP, they experience a dramatic positive change in their neighborhood and school contexts; Table 2.3 summarizes neighborhood changes. Before moving with the program families lived primarily in high poverty and highly segregated Baltimore city neighborhoods, that were, on average, 32

percent poor and 77 percent Black. Potential movers reside in fairly similar neighborhoods when they enroll for the program that are, on average, 34 percent poor and 81 percent Black. After moving with the BHMP, families' neighborhoods were 10 percent poor and 24 percent Black (Table 2.3). After making this residential move, a similarly large shift occurred in children's school contexts (Table 2.4). By gaining residential access to new school districts through the BHMP move, students were able to transfer from segregated and low performing schools into more diverse and higher performing schools. Before moving with the BHMP, the youth in this study attended schools that were, on average, around 88 percent Black, with 80 percent of students qualified for free or reduced lunch, and around 60 percent of students meeting the proficiency standard on the state math assessment (Table 2.4). In the first year after moving, youth attended schools that were 55 percent Black, 53 percent of students were eligible for free or reduced lunch, and 76 percent of students scored proficient or advanced on the state math assessment. Over time as families make subsequent moves there are additional changes in children's schools, which show an increase in the percent of black students and students receiving free or reduced price lunch. This stems from some families returning to city neighborhoods and others moving to suburban communities with a higher percentage of black neighbors.

MSDE Administrative Data

The research team for this project worked in partnership with the Maryland State Department of Education to match the list of 15,194 children in the BHMP data with statewide attendance and standardized testing records from 2003 to 2011. In total, 9,228 of the students (61.7 percent) were matched with what we considered complete data

based on their date of birth and expected academic progress. Of the remaining 38.3 percent, only 920 were entirely unmatched, the rest having some incomplete information. Since the matching process attempted to match all children from the BHMP database, it is likely that a large portion of those without complete data were not "missing" in the traditional sense, but represent students who for one reason or another did not attend Maryland public schools in a particular year. Children who dropped out of school, started late, were homeschooled, attended private, parochial, and Catholic schools, or who relocated out of state would all have incomplete data. The fact that 93.9 percent of all students matched with some data (representing 86 percent of all possible records), supports an assertion that these matches are reasonably representative of the overall student population in mover and potential mover households.

The MSDE data itself consists of two types of records; the first contains information on attendance, absenteeism, suspensions, and graduation, at all school(s) a student attended in a particular year. The second includes the performance of each student on the Maryland School Assessment (MSA) and the High School Assessment (HSA). The analyses for this study rely on students' MSA test scores. The MSA is administered annually, and the analyses include tests for third through eighth graders from the 2002-2003 to 2010-2011 school years. The HSA is administered at least once to all high school students, but due to a lack of repeated HSA testing for students who pass the test, the quantitative analyses will examine only the MSA scores. These assessments are designed to test each child's level of proficiency in reading and math at a grade appropriate level. After removing special education versions of the test, which are modified and cannot be standardized to match the other MSA scores, and limiting the

sample to test scores for only the MSA tests taken in grades 3-8, the final sample consists of 35,040 math test scores from 10,091 students (2,242 movers and 7,849 potential movers) and 35,107 reading test scores from 10,085 children (2,236 movers and 7,849 potential movers).[8]

Since children move in different years and different grades, the panel data is unbalanced. Table 2.5 summarizes how the available data relates to children's move. There are both pre- and post-move test score observations for 739 students in reading, and 735 students in math. For the rest of the mover students there are only pre-move, or only post-move test scores. Table 2.6 breaks this out by year, showing the total observations for reading and math in each year, and then the observations for cases with pre-post test scores, and the observations for students who do not have both a pre- and a post-move score. The total number of observations for students with pre-post scores is comparatively quite small. Table 2.7 shows the data by year and grade, illustrating the total number of observations in each year for each tested grade from third to eighth. This also shows the sum total number of observations for each year, and each grade.

The use of statewide administrative test scores presents some specific opportunities and challenges. In comparison to survey administered tests (such as Woodcock-Johnson Revised that was used in the Moving to Opportunity analyses), the MSA is designed not to test aptitude or ability as much as a mastery of the statewide reading and math curricula. Thus, it should be considered primarily a test of academic achievement not cognitive ability or development. However, while the MSA tests were

[8] Although modified and alternative versions of the test are provided to students with severe learning disabilities and physical handicaps, the standard test was given 96.5 percent of the time to our students.

designed to have high quality psychometric properties, and the tests remained relatively consistent from year to year (with one large redesign in 2007), the raw scores do not scale consistently between years and grades. To resolve these issues, each test score was standardized using the statewide mean and standard deviation for a particular grade in a particular year (*following* Kolen and Brennan 2004). This means that all standardized scores represent the relative position of the student within his or her grade in that particular year in the state of Maryland. Barring major demographic shifts in the state population, an improvement in this standard score will represent in an improvement in the student's academic achievement. Combining all years, sample participants' math scores were .77 standard deviations below the mean and reading scores were .73 standard deviations below the mean in total, reflecting the high levels of disadvantage in the population. Analyses by year, shown in Table 2.8, present the mean standardized math and reading test scores by the number of the years before or after the first move with the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program. Of particular note, is the sharp drop in the mean math scores the year immediately following relocation: from -.72 standard deviations to -.83 below the mean. For reading the first year dip in was less sharp than for math, as students' mean reading score dropped from -0.69 standard deviations to -0.72 standard deviations below the mean. These descriptive statistics illustrate a gradual improvement in test scores over the years after the first year families moved with the BHMP. These data are further analyzed in chapter three.

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data analyzed in this dissertation are from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with a stratified random sample of families who moved with the BHMP. Families with at least one child between the ages of 9 and 18 were sampled from the BHMP administrative database in 2012. This sample was stratified by the destination county of families' first BHMP move, and the timing of the move in order to compare early movers (2003-2008) with more recent movers (2009-2012). The vast majority of families in this sample moved with the BHMP to a suburban county, only 8 families (9.09% of the sample) made their first BHMP move to a city neighborhood. Table 2.2 describes the destination counties, reflecting that the majority of families moved to either Howard County or Baltimore County. These moves are also reflected in Map 2.1, which shows the residential changes across the metropolitan area before and after the first move for the qualitative sample across. Table 2.3 illustrates the change in neighborhood context for families in the qualitative sample. Before moving these families were living in neighborhoods that were on average 30 percent poor and 78 percent Black. After moving with the BHMP families move to considerably lower poverty and less racially segregated neighborhoods that are just 8 percent poor and 23 percent Black on average.

The basic demographic profile for the households in the qualitative sample is shown in Table 2.9. Unlike the administrative sample demographics in Table 2.1 this table summarizes information for these respondents from 2012. Since they were sampled in that year, there is minimal missing data, and using only the data provided by the BHMP staff in 2012 allows for a more accurate demographic profile at the time of

sampling.[9] As shown in Table 2.9, the heads of household are 100% Black and over 98% female, we interviewed only one father. The head of household is on average just over 35 years old, and there are an average of 2.23 children living in the household. The median income for this sample was $19,153, and 22 percent of these respondents had income from SSI and 27 percent had income from TANF.

Table 2.10 provides a description of the 79 youth respondents in the qualitative sample. These youth are 46 percent female and 100 percent Black. Among these youth the vast majority 91% moved to suburban neighborhoods with the BHMP, but 7 children first moved to a city neighborhood. These youth moved at an average age of almost 10 years old, so the large majority (78 percent) moved during middle childhood, prior to 8th grade. The 21 percent of youth who moved during adolescence are a small but critical group for comparing the experiences of youth who moved during different stages of child development.

The memorandum of understanding with the Maryland State Department of Education does not allow me to crosswalk the qualitative sample with the administrative education database. As a result I cannot provide test score measures or other school data from MSDE for this sample. However, the qualitative sample was separately matched to the NCES Common Core of Data based on the schools they reported attending before and after their BHMP move during their interview. As shown in Table 2.11 these students were attending schools that were 91 percent Black and where 77 percent of peers were

[9] Several descriptive characteristics of the qualitative sample look different than the administrative sample, such as higher percentages of this sample receiving welfare and SSI, as well as a higher income. I believe that these are a function of the fact that these are all movers, which means they must have proof of some form of income. It also reflects that their income has been verified recently because of their active lease with the BHMP, which recertifies participant incomes regularly. Respondents must report any changes in income to the BHMP in a timely manner.

receiving free or reduced price lunch prior to moving. After the move their schools were 42 percent Black and 36 percent of peers received free or reduced price lunch. Perhaps most importantly there was also a change in the performance of their school peers on the MSA, going from 53 percent of peers scoring proficient or advanced on the math MSA to 76 percent after moving with the BHMP.

In-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted from June to November of 2012 by a team of 9 trained interviewers. Interviews were conducted with the household head for each selected family, and a randomly selected youth between the ages of 9 and 18 for each sampled household. A total sample of 108 mover families was selected from the administrative database and interviews were conducted with the head of household for 88 of these families.[10] The household response rate is over 80 percent. From these households, a total of 79 youth interviews were conducted with one youth randomly selected from each household.[11] In the summers of 2015 and 2016 the team contacted the 79 mover families for which we had both an adult and youth interview, and conducted a second wave of follow-up interviews with a total of 69 heads of household and 63 youth, and added 21 sibling interviews. This dissertation focuses on the qualitative sample of households that moved with the BHMP. The analyses in chapter 4 draw on both waves of interview data with parents, while chapter 5 focuses solely on the initial 79 youth interviews conducted in 2012.

Interviews with adults lasted on average two hours and ranged from an hour and a half to four hours. Almost all the interviews were conducted at the respondent's place of

[10] Through selection of every 5th participant at each of three initial BHMP briefings a sample of 26 potential mover families was selected and 22 head of household interviews and 14 youth interviews were completed. However, these interviews are not analyzed in this dissertation.

[11] There were several cases in which youth could not be interviewed due to an inability to provide consent for reasons such as severe speech impediments or learning disabilities.

residence, but a handful of interviews were conducted in public venues such as McDonalds. Adult interview respondents were offered a $50 stipend for participating. Youth interviews were typically shorter in length than the adult interviews, lasting between 45 minutes to two hours, and youth respondents were offered a $25 stipend for participating. Youth respondents were typically interviewed at the same time as their parent in a separate room by a second interviewer, but a small number of older youth were interviewed separately after parental consent was provided.

All interviews opened with a broad open-ended question. For parents we asked: "Tell me the story of your life," and children were asked: "Tell me a little bit about yourself." These questions allowed respondents to tell us the things that were most important to them, and laid the groundwork for the course of the interview. Each interview was conducted to follow a natural course of conversation, while interviewers used a semi-structured interview guide to cover the important modules of interest, which broadly included family dynamics, residential mobility, neighborhoods, housing, schools, income and work, and health.

Children and their parents were asked to give the entire school trajectory for the child and provide significant narrative detail about their transition to a new school after moving with the BHMP. They were asked to compare schools before and after the move and evaluate both schools. Children and parents were also both asked about the student's grades, behavior at school, and their performance in school generally. Youth were asked more specifically about their favorite courses, and what they were good at in school and what they struggled with. Students were also asked about their friends in school and outside of school, and the activities they participated in school. They were asked if

anyone helped them adjust to their new school and how they went about making new friends. Parents were asked about their interactions with the school, their involvement at the school, and their evaluation of their child's teacher, and how this changed after moving with the BHMP.

The interview team was white and majority female, with two male interviewers, while our youth respondents were all African American and included both boys and girls. Interviews were done by the first available team member without purposely matching interviewer and respondent gender. Since race and gender differences may lead some respondents to feel uncomfortable sharing certain experiences, interviewers were trained to build trust and rapport gradually, establishing a relationship with the respondent by spending time talking about their interests and the issues most important to before asking substantive interview guide questions.

Each interview was recorded, and these recordings were transcribed verbatim. The author and trained group of coders from the research team coded the interviews using MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program. The analysis began with a codebook based on the interview guide, to code for the major themes probed over the course of the interviews. There were separate codebooks designed for adult and youth respondents, given the variation in these two interview guides. There was a greater focus on housing related issues, residential mobility decisions, and questions related to experiences with the BHMP in the adult interview.

In the second phase of analysis I developed a set of memos on each respondent, focused on the specific themes that emerged within the case. These case memos were then condensed into broader memos that summarized the themes present across the youth

and adult interviews. These themes informed the data collection process for the follow-up wave of interviews in the summers of 2015 and 2016, for example these interviews focused in much greater detail on parents' participation in their children's schools and their interactions with teachers and school staff based on the emerging importance of these experiences across the interviews. From these themes secondary focused coding strategies were employed to examine the emergent themes across cases. These focused codes were applied for the parents to both the first and second wave of interviews, as both waves are included in the analysis for chapter 4. In the youth interviews focused coding was used with the 2012 interviews. As one example, parent interviews were coded to specifically examine parent school participation, and discussions surrounding children's IEP designation and parents' participation in the IEP process were captured using focused coding following the initial memos on parent interviews.

Throughout the data analysis process I shared my findings with the research team as a check against biases and misinterpretation. The value of team-based research is that many members of the team have significant familiarity with the data, having also conducted interviews and participated in the early data coding. This feedback was invaluable in helping direct the focused coding strategies and providing critical evaluations of early analyses.

Tables

Table 2.1 Administrative Sample Descriptive Statistics

	Movers	Potential Movers
Household Characteristics		
Household Count	1,503	6,287
Female Head of Household	99%	97.33%
Black Head of Household	99.33%	99.22%
Age in 2012 (mean)	35.4	37.7
Baseline income (median, 2012$)	13,416	6,702
Total Children in household (mean)	1.9	2
Total Adults in household (mean)	1.2	1.2
Receiving Welfare at Baseline	19.56%	19.14%
Receiving SSI at Baseline	19.89%	19.43%
Child Characteristics		
Child Count	3,345	11,849
Female	50.20%	50.68%
Age in 2012 (mean)	13.72	15.06
Black	99.72%	99.05%
Baseline Standardized Math Scores (mean)	-0.72	-0.73
Baseline Standardized Reading Scores (mean)	-0.65	-0.7

Sources: BHMP Administrative Database, ACS 2007-2011, Census 2000

Table 2.2 Destination County First BHMP Move

County	Administrative Mover Sample Percent	Qualitative Sample Percent
Anne Arundel County	15.89	13.64
Baltimore City	10.84	9.09
Baltimore County	33.24	32.95
Carroll County	0.20	1.14
Harford County	11.04	12.5
Howard County	28.39	30.68
Missing	0.40	N/A
Total	N=1503	N=88

Sources: BHMP Administrative Database

Table 2.3 Neighborhood Demographic Changes

BHMP Move	Mean Poverty Rate	Mean Percent Black
Pre-Move		
Potential Movers Baseline	34.46	81.09
Movers Pre-BHMP Move	32.28	77.71
Post-Move		
First BHMP Neighborhood	10.14	24.00
Qualitative Sample		
Pre-BHMP Move	30.29	78.31
First BHMP Neighborhood	8.78	23.69

Sources: BHMP Administrative Database, ACS 2007-2011, Census 2000

Table 2.4 School Demographic Changes

	Potential movers	Movers, pre-move	Movers, year one	Movers, year two plus
tested in Baltimore City school	0.85	0.86	0.34	0.37
percent black students	0.87	0.88	0.55	0.59
percent free/reduce lunch	0.82	0.8	0.53	0.59
student teacher ratio	14.87	15.07	14.24	14.29
percent advanced/proficient on Math MSA	0.61	0.58	0.76	0.79

Source: MSDE Administrative Data, Common Core

Table 2.5 Summary of MSA Data for Mover Students

	Total Observations		Number of Students	
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
Only Pre-Move Data	1,647	1,656	526	526
Pre-Post Data	3,455	3,479	729	735
Only Post-Move Data	2,730	2,709	981	981
Total for Movers	7,832	7,844	2,236	2,242

Source: MSDE Administrative Database, BHMP Administrative Database

Table 2.6 Pre-Post Move MSA Test Score Observations

Year	Total Observations		Observations for cases without Pre-Post Data		Observations for Cases with Pre-Post Data	
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
2002-2003	1,474	1,480	1,364	1,370	110	110
2003-2004	3,287	3,302	3,024	3,030	263	272
2004-2005	3,657	3,648	3,316	3,311	341	337
2005-2006	3,755	3,763	3,339	3,342	416	421
2006-2007	3,977	3,965	3,493	3,483	484	482
2007-2008	4,453	4,431	3,943	3,920	510	511
2008-2009	4,699	4,675	4,187	4,162	512	513
2009-2010	4,774	4,757	4,330	4,305	444	452
2010-2011	5,031	5,019	4,656	4,638	375	381

Source: MSDE Administrative Database, BHMP Administrative Database

Table 2.7 MSA Test Scores by Year and Grade

	Total Observations by Year		3rd Grade		4th Grade		5th Grade		6th Grade		7th Grade		8th Grade	
Year	Read	Math	Read	Math	Read	Math	Read	Math	Read	Math	Read	Math	Read	Math
2002-2003	1,474	1,480	609	612	0	0	502	504	0	0	0	0	363	364
2003-2004	3,287	3,302	635	636	591	592	542	545	594	598	552	555	373	376
2004-2005	3,657	3,648	675	672	668	668	606	604	582	583	610	607	516	514
2005-2006	3,755	3,763	718	713	665	662	641	643	618	626	585	591	528	528
2006-2007	3,977	3,965	823	822	685	682	638	640	659	657	619	616	553	548
2007-2008	4,453	4,431	915	905	871	869	731	727	662	663	676	668	598	599
2008-2009	4,699	4,675	991	987	900	894	851	848	696	692	612	614	649	640
2009-2010	4,774	4,757	938	936	938	939	853	849	817	807	638	643	590	583
2010-2011	5,031	5,019	924	924	926	928	924	923	849	846	788	777	620	621
Total	35,107	35,040	7,228	7,207	6,244	6,234	6,288	6,283	5,477	5,472	5,080	5,071	4,790	4,773

Source: MSDE Administrative Database, BHMP Administrative Database

Table 2.8 MSA Math and Reading Scores, Pre & Post BHMP Relocation

Years post-Thompson move	N (math)	Math standardized score (mean)	N (reading)	Reading standardized score (mean)
7 years before move	51	-0.61	50	-0.69
6 years before	119	-0.81	120	-0.79
5 years before	217	-0.77	217	-0.75
4 years before	332	-0.79	331	-0.74
3 years before	472	-0.81	468	-0.72
2 years before	603	-0.77	602	-0.66
1 year before	727	-0.74	726	-0.67
move year	881	-0.72	884	-0.69
1 year after move	967	-0.83	965	-0.72
2 years after move	831	-0.78	826	-0.74
3 years after move	667	-0.76	662	-0.65
4 years after move	604	-0.73	610	-0.69
5 years after move	514	-0.69	510	-0.57
6 years after move	414	-0.63	415	-0.63
7 years after move	329	-0.63	330	-0.6
8 years after move	110	-0.76	110	-0.66

Source: MSDE Administrative Data

Table 2.9 Qualitative Sample Demographics

	Count	Percentage
Head of Household Gender		
Female	87	98.86%
Male	1	1.14%
Head of Household Race		
Black	88	100%
Head of Household Average Age in 2012	35.4	
Head of Household Employment		
Employed	58	65.91%
Unemployed	30	34.09%
Head of Household Education		
Less than High School	20	22.72%
High School Graduate	39	44.32%
Some College	24	27.27%
Bachelor's Degree	4	4.55%
Children in household in 2012 (mean)	2.74	
Adults in household in 2012 (mean)	1.44	
Income in 2012 (median)	$19,153	
Receives Welfare in 2012	27	30.68%
Receives SSI in 2012	22	25.00%
Sample Size	88	

Sources: BHMP Administrative Database & Qualitative Interviews

Table 2.10 Youth Qualitative Sample Characteristics

	Count	Percent
Youth Race		
Black	79	100%
Youth Gender		
Female	37	46.80%
Male	42	53.20%
Age at Move (mean)	9.9	
Developmental Stage at Move		
Middle Childhood (before 8th grade)	62	78.50%
Adolescence (8th grade and later)	17	21.50%
Move Destination		
City Neighborhood	7	8.86%
Suburban Neighborhood	72	91.14%
Sample Size	79	

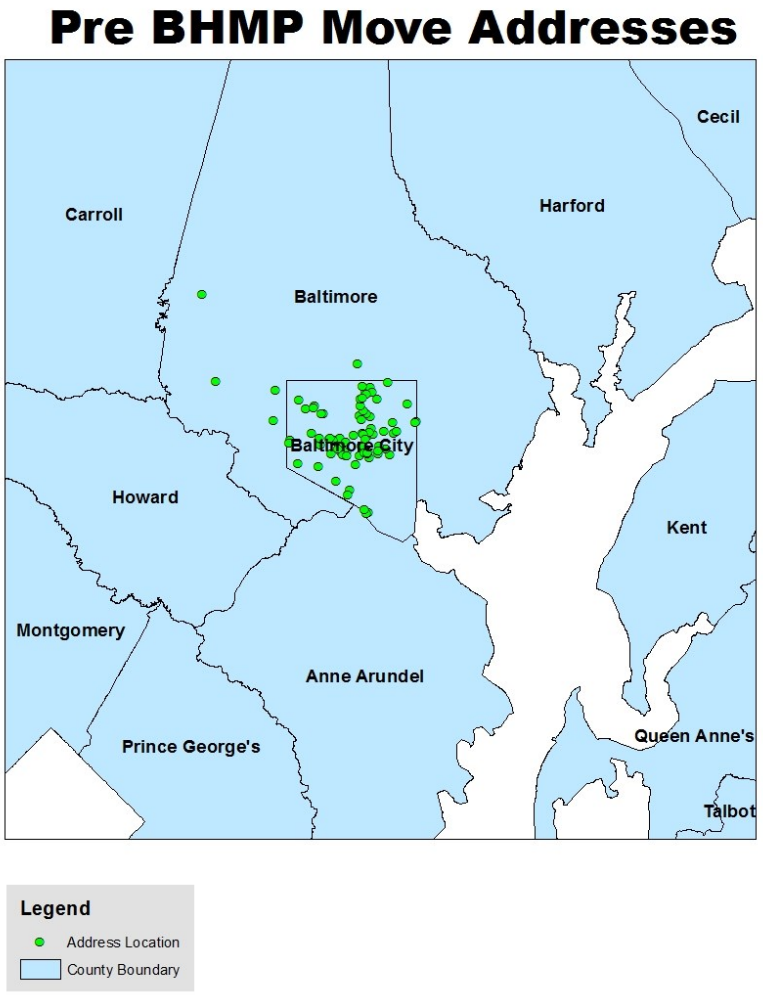
Sources: BHMP Administrative Database

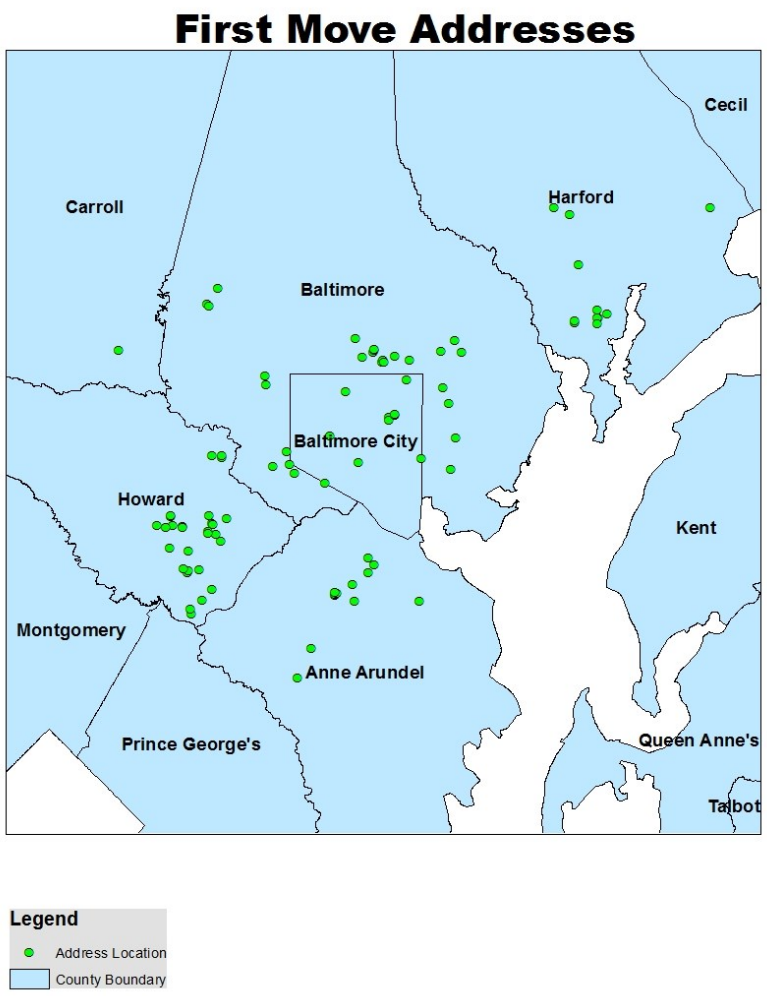
Table 2.11 Youth Qualitative Sample School Demographic Changes

Characteristic	Pre-BHMP School	Post-BHMP Move School
Race/Ethnicity (%)		
Black	91.5%	42.3%
Hispanic	2.1%	6.2%
White	4.8%	43.3%
Other	1.6%	36.9%
Free and Reduced Price Lunch (%)	77.4%	36.9%
Academic Proficiency (%)		
Math	53.7%	76.3%
English/Reading	63.6%	82.6%
School sample size	73	78

Notes: In the pre-move sample 6, out of 79 youth were not enrolled in school before moving. The post-move sample size is 78 because one alternative school did not have available data.
Sources: NCES Common Core of Data (CCD); NCES Private School Universe Survey (PSS); Maryland State Department of Education Middle School Assessment (MSA) and High School Assessment (HSA) data directory; The Archdiocese of Baltimore

Map 2.1 Qualitative Sample Pre and Post Move County





CHAPTER 3

Expanding the Geography of Educational Opportunity

Introduction[12]

Racial segregation and concentrated poverty significantly affect educational opportunities for poor and minority children in the United States (Sharkey, 2013; Sampson, Sharkey and Raudenbush, 2008). Despite a growing number of school choice options, over 70 percent of American children still attend the public school zoned for their neighborhood (U.S. Department of Education 2009), directly coupling residential segregation and school segregation. Furthermore, the most common forms of public school choice are largely restricted to within-district school options, even though the separation of minority students from white peers is largely driven by racial segregation between school districts rather than within (Logan, Minca, Adar 2012; Massey and Denton 1993). A number of Supreme Court decisions suggest, however, that metropolitan plans to desegregate schools are largely a thing of the past (Fischbach, Rhee, and Cacace 2008; Orfield and Eaton 1996). Thus, where families live still largely determines the quality of the schools their children attend, a connection with profound consequences for social inequality and economic mobility. Within a context of restricted education policy options, assisted housing programs remain one potential policy tool for providing poor, minority families with opportunities to access different school districts.

Residential mobility programs are one form of housing policy intended to provide low-income families with residential access to more affluent neighborhood contexts. This

[12] This chapter is based on a conference paper co-authored with Phillip M.E. Garboden and a report co-authored with Stefanie DeLuca and Phillip M.E. Garboden.

type of voluntary housing program subsidizes rent in the private market for low-income families, providing a housing voucher that gives families the resources to make more affluent neighborhoods accessible. Families, who move from urban to suburban school districts through these housing programs, are thereby able to leverage housing choice as a form of school choice to access more resourced and higher achieving suburban schools. By supporting this kind of residential mobility, these programs attempt to disrupt the unequal geography of opportunity that links resources, including schools, with racial and economic residential segregation (Briggs 2005; Galster and Killen 1995). This chapter capitalizes on one such housing intervention to explore whether improvements in neighborhood access translate into gains in educational achievement for poor minority children.

This chapter uses administrative data from the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program and the Maryland State Department of Education, which includes both longitudinal residential information about participating families and state school assessment data for their school aged children. The majority of the families in this study, move with the BHMP to suburban neighborhoods and transfer their children to new schools, significantly altering *both* their neighborhood and school contexts. Although there was no random assignment in this program, this chapter leverages the longitudinal nature of the data to overcome some of the selection issues present in observational research.

Specifically this chapter addresses the research question: how does children's academic achievement change as a result of a residential move with the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program? The findings show that after moving with the BHMP,

children in this sample face an initial disruption in their academic achievement with a small but significant drop in math test scores one year after beginning program participation. However, children slowly recover their academic footing, steadily increasing their test scores as they remain in the voucher program. About five years after voucher receipt, students showed a statistically significant improvement in their test scores. The initial dip students' experience appears to be primarily influenced by the school transition, rather than the residential relocation, as higher levels of achievement at suburban schools appear protective, reducing the disruptive consequences of school change.

Residential Mobility Programs

In the absence of housing assistance poor families frequently move between similarly high-poverty and racially segregated neighborhoods with low performing schools (South and Crowder 1997; Quillian 2003; Quillian 2002). Even after receiving the traditional Housing Choice Voucher (HCV), research shows that participating low-income households often continue to reside in high-poverty and racially segregated neighborhoods (McClure 2008; McClure and Johnson 2015; Metzger 2014), where the local public schools are relatively low performing (Horn, Ellen, Schwartz 2014). Although the HCV program provides families with a subsidy to lower their rental costs in the private market, it offers little support to families as they use this voucher, and several structural obstacles plague families' ability to effectively leverage their voucher to lease up in more affluent and less segregated neighborhoods (DeLuca, Garboden, Rosenblatt 2013). For example, the voucher subsidy often falls short of rental costs in higher income

neighborhoods, and families frequently have insufficient search time to find the best possible unit (DeLuca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2013). In contrast to the traditional HCV program, residential mobility programs are designed to more effectively reduce barriers to neighborhood mobility for low-income families (DeLuca, Garboden, Rosenblatt 2013; DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2017).

One of the first residential mobility programs began in Chicago as the result of a fair housing lawsuit brought against the Chicago Housing Authority and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Rosenbaum, Kulieke, and Rubinowitz 1988; Kaufman & Rosenbaum 1992; DeLuca & Dayton 2009). Beginning in 1976, the Gautreaux program was established as a voluntary housing voucher program for any family who was living in public housing or who had been on the waiting list for public housing (Keels et al. 2005). Although the Gautreaux program focused on moving families into housing units in neighborhoods that had 30 percent or fewer Black residents, often in the suburbs of Chicago, many participating families also moved into city neighborhoods that were mostly Black and lower-income (Keels et al. 2005; Rosenbaum and Zuberi 2010). Counselors offered housing units to families as they became available, based on their position on the waiting list. Refusing the offered unit made it unlikely the family would be offered another unit within their allotted six months of program eligibility. Most families accepted the unit and thus the selection of families into neighborhoods was quasi-experimental (DeLuca et al. 2010).

Analyses of the Gautreaux program found significant differences in the outcomes of suburban movers compared to families who moved to city neighborhoods. There were striking qualitative differences in neighborhood safety, average income levels, and racial

composition, as well as large improvements in school quality, the rigorousness of the curriculum, and graduation rates for suburban movers (Kaufman and Rosenbaum 1992). In interviews, mothers indicated that the suburban schools their children attended had higher standards, more difficult work, and a faster pace of learning (Rosenbaum, Kulieke, Rubinowitz 1988). Examining the effects of this program, scholars found that fewer suburban movers dropped out of school than city movers, and suburban students were more likely to be in college track classes, enroll in college, and enroll in 4-year colleges (Kaufman and Rosenbaum 1992).

Given the positive results found in the Gautreaux program the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban development implemented the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration to more clearly estimate the causal effects of residential mobility programs. MTO was a large-scale experiment of housing mobility run in five cities: Baltimore, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and New York. Public housing residents who applied for a voucher were randomly assigned to three different groups: the control group, which did not receive a voucher; a comparison group receiving conventional Section 8 vouchers; and the treatment group, which received housing counseling and mobility vouchers that could only be used to lease units in census tracts with less than 10 percent poverty for at least one year. The expectation was that the youth in treatment group families would show positive academic improvements as a result of moving to the low poverty neighborhoods, just as had been observed for suburban movers in the Gautreaux program. However, the interim evaluation, four to seven years after random assignment, indicated that there were no significant improvements in academic outcomes,

including reading and math scores, behavioral problems, or school engagement (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006).

Some more recent subgroup analyses of the study sites, found significant improvements in verbal ability in Chicago and Baltimore, the cities with the highest levels of concentrated disadvantage and neighborhood violence (Burdick-Will et al. 2011). The authors argue that experiencing a decrease in violence mattered considerably for students' outcomes (Burdick-Will et al. 2011). More recent work evaluating the long-term impact of the MTO intervention found that moving with the program had a significant positive effect on college attendance rates and adult earnings for participants who moved before the age of 13 (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). These findings have reinvigorated the debate about the impact of residential mobility on children's outcomes.

One potential explanation for the lack of significant improvement in children's academic achievement among youth in the MTO treatment group is that the schools these children attended were only marginally better than the schools the control students attended (Briggs, Popkin, Goering 2010; DeLuca & Rosenblatt 2010). The reasons for the limited improvement in school quality for the MTO treatment group families seem to be two-fold; first, families did not leverage their residential moves into neighborhoods in the best school districts. Second, parents had only limited information and resources to make choices about where their children attended school and there was not a component to the counseling program to help these families navigate school choice options after moving (DeLuca & Rosenblatt 2010). Thus, receiving an MTO voucher interacted with many other factors in the lives of poor families, and while families translated their vouchers into a residential move in lower poverty communities, these moves rarely

landed their children in significantly higher-performing schools (DeLuca & Rosenblatt 2010).

How Mobility Relates to Academic Outcomes

The mixed evidence from mobility programs on students' academic outcomes may be driven in part by the disruption of the residential move. In general research suggests that residential and school mobility are disruptive and harmful to students' learning (Grigg 2012; Hanushek, Kain, Rivkin 2004; Kain and O'Brien 1998; Mehana and Reynolds 2004; Voight, Shinn, and Nation 2012). However, controlling for family socio-economic status greatly diminishes the negative effects of changing schools (Alexander et al. 1996; Prisbesh and Downey 1999). Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin (2004) illustrate that there are benefits to enrolling in better schools that accrue over time after students face the initial cost of moving. This indicates that there are potential benefits for students who are able to leverage their mobility to access better schools, and remain in those schools over time. Their findings illustrate that, on average, school quality improves most when families move out of urban districts and into suburban districts within a region, although there are also large changes for families moving between suburban districts (Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2004). From this research we may hypothesize that children participating in residential mobility programs will face initial academic challenges as they adjust to new school environments, but that over time improvements in school quality from moving to suburban school districts may modestly increase their academic achievement.

This chapter analyzes longitudinal test score data for children in the BHMP administrative database to examine how moving, from a high poverty, racially segregated urban school district to more affluent, racially integrated, and higher-performing suburban school districts affects students' academic achievement.

Data

This chapter utilizes the administrative data from the BHMP, merged with school data from the Maryland State Department of Education. Households in the database can be divided into two categories, those who moved with the voucher and those who applied but had not yet moved (movers and potential movers, hereafter).[13] In the BHMP administrative dataset there were a total of 7,790 households with children. In total, 15,194 children were extracted from the dataset to match with the MSDE database, 3,345 of these children came from 1,503 mover families, and 11,849 children were in the households of 6,287 potential mover families. (The results of this match are described in Chapter 2). For the analyses in this chapter, the administrative data was also merged with the Decennial Census, the American Community Survey, and National Center for Education Statistics' Common Core of Data, which provide additional variables related to school and neighborhood context before and after program participation.

Sample Description

The households of children in this sample are predominantly headed by black women with between two and three children, on average (see Table 2.1 in Chapter 2). These families are also socio-economically disadvantaged and about a fifth were

[13] Households who moved but were terminated from the program are also included although they were not tracked after they left the program.

receiving welfare when they applied to the program and a fifth received SSI disability benefits. Median baseline household income, including all cash transfers and benefits, was less than $14,000 per year for mover households and less than $7,000 for potential movers. This stands in stark contrast with the median household income for the Baltimore metropolitan area in 2012, which was $66,970. One of the requirements for receiving the BHMP voucher is that families save money towards a security deposit. For households making less than $7,000, this goal may be challenging. However, the pre-move income reported by potential movers has not always been fully verified by the program, and may be less accurate. This does however reflect some of the potential selection concerns in this sample. The mover and potential mover households, however, were living in similar neighborhood contexts. Prior to receiving the BHMP voucher, families resided in highly segregated and high-poverty neighborhoods, primarily in Baltimore city (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2). These neighborhoods were over 32 percent poor for both movers and potential movers, and with 77 percent Black residents for movers and 81 percent Black residents for potential movers. After moving with the BHMP families resided in neighborhoods that were 10 percent poor and 24 percent Black on average.

Selection Concerns

Outside of an experimental design, it is challenging to estimate the effect of a mobility intervention. The families who successfully move with the program may be systematically different from those who do not, in both observable and unobservable ways. Children in families that move with the program may therefore perform better than those who do not, regardless of their participation in the BHMP. For these children, there may not only be potential differences in baseline test scores, but also in test score gains

each year, net of any treatment effect. This makes it particularly challenging to generate a comparable mover treatment group and potential mover control group.

Selection issues arise with the BHMP at two separate points. First, selection occurs into the *applicant* pool and then selection out of the pool into the *mover* group. However, Baltimore's subsidized housing programs are oversubscribed, with thousands of families on the waiting list for public housing units and the HCV program. Indeed, the waiting lists for both of these housing programs in Baltimore city were closed from 2003 to 2014.[14] Thus, for the families in our sample, at the time they were seeking housing assistance, the BHMP had been the *only available option for a decade*. This suggests that those who submitted an initial application to the BHMP are unlikely to be appreciably different from the voucher-seeking population of Baltimore as a whole, making the BHMP applicants sufficiently representative of Baltimore households eligible for housing subsidies (the population of greatest policy significance).

Mitigating selection from the applicant pool into the mover group is more challenging. Fortunately, the BHMP has been administered on a rolling basis, creating a 'staggered control group' of children who have not yet relocated but are similar to those in mover families because they are class eligible, and have passed the voucher screening. Interviews with program administrators suggest that this selection into the mover group works in two contradictory ways. On the one hand, families may have financial, cognitive or emotional resources that correlate with both leasing up with the BHMP and with better educational outcomes for children. On the other hand, families who relocate quickly are often homeless or unstably housed (compared to those who can defer voucher receipt)

[14] The housing choice voucher list did re-open in Baltimore briefly in 2014, but this falls after the period of analysis for this study.

and thus the children in mover households might face some challenges that negatively correlate with their educational outcomes compared to potential movers. Based on conversations with program staff it is not clear that either of these explanations dominates, and Table 2.1 (in chapter 2) shows that the two groups are largely comparable on observables. Furthermore, the mean baseline test scores, measured in standard deviations above the statewide mean (in the earliest grade available for each student prior to relocation), is -0.72 for movers and -0.73 for potential movers in math, and in reading it is -0.65 for movers and for potential movers -0.70. While this suggests that much of the selection into treatment may be uncorrelated with child outcomes, statistical modeling techniques will be used to limit remaining bias.

Dependent Variables

The analyses will evaluate the effect of moving with the BHMP on two main outcomes: math test scores and reading test scores. The test performance of children in grades three through eight was measured using the Maryland School Assessment (MSA) for math and reading. Children in the BHMP database were matched to their MSA test scores for the academic years 2003-2004 through 2011-2012.[15] However, because the children in this sample move in different years and different grades, this is unbalanced panel data with missing data for students at different points in time and in different grade levels.

The raw scores for the MSA math and reading tests do not scale consistently between years and grades. So the test scores have been standardized using the statewide mean and standard deviation for a particular grade in a particular year. Each score

[15] Since the process of matching these two datasets is summarized in Chapter 2, I do not repeat it here.

represents the number of standard deviations above or below the mean Maryland public school student score for that particular grade and particular year. Alternative and modified forms of the MSA test were excluded because they could not be standardized to match the regular form of the MSA test. Therefore the final analytic sample, which includes only regular MSA test scores in grades three through eight, consists of 35,040 math test score observations from 10,091 children, 2,242 movers and 7,849 potential movers. The reading test score analyses include a slightly larger number of total observations with 35,107 total reading test scores from 10,085 children.

Explanatory Variable

For these analyses the "treatment" is moving with the BHMP. The effects of moving with the BHMP are measured by comparing MSA test scores from before and after the child moved with the program. This is determined using the BHMP administrative data record for the date of the family's first lease with the program. If a child's family has a first lease date, they are considered a "mover" and all tests taken after this date are post-treatment tests, while all MSA tests before this date are pre-treatment.

Longitudinal Analysis with Fixed Effects Modeling

To address some of the selection concerns present in this sample, I utilize fixed effects models. These models overcome selection issues from time-invariant unobserved characteristics, by looking for changes within mover children before and after they move with the BHMP. The fixed effects modeling approach allows time-invariant and unobserved characteristics to be correlated with the explanatory variable without biasing the estimates of the association between the BHMP move and students' MSA test scores

(Allison 2009). However, confounding may occur from time-varying factors that are not controlled for in the model. The fixed effects model takes the form:

$$y_{it} = \beta_1 D_{it} + \beta_2 X_{it} + A_t + A_G + \alpha_i + u_{it}$$

Where y_{it} is the outcome of individual (i) at time (t), in this case Maryland School Assessment scores standardized using the statewide mean and standard deviation for a particular grade in a particular year to ensure consistent comparisons across year and grade. D_{it} is a binary variable representing whether or not the individual has undergone the treatment (in this case relocating with a BHMP housing voucher) at time (t). The effects of the BHMP may depend on the number of years the child has been exposed to their new school and neighborhood environment. This dosage effect can be modeled by adjusting the format of the D_{it} variable to include the number of years post initial move.

Time variant characteristics are represented in this model by X_{it}. In particular, the models include covariates for changes in grade progression and special education status. [16] However, given that moving with the BHMP generates multiple changes in life circumstances at the same time, it is challenging in this data to identify additional time variant controls relevant to academic achievement that would be exogenous to the relocation of the family. For example, controlling for a student's neighborhood quality could erroneously reduce the treatment effects. For this reason, the analyses in this chapter begin with the most parsimonious model and then add time variant characteristics, represented by X_{it}, to partially elucidate potential causal mechanisms. For example, model four includes a change in school and school district, and model five

[16] The analyses do not include children who took alternative or modified forms of the MSA test, so this special education variable reflects students who still took the regular MSA test, but moved into or out of receiving special education services according to the MSDE database.

incorporates a change in the percent of students at a child's school scoring proficient or advanced on the MSA.

Finally, α_i is the unobserved intercept for individual (i), A_t are time fixed effects for year (t) from the 2002-2003 to 2010-2011 school years, A_G are grade fixed effects for grades 3 to 8, and u_{it} is the random error term. Since these models only measure change within individuals, they cannot accommodate time invariant student characteristics. Thus, traditional covariates, such as gender and race, are not included. However, the final model incorporates gender interactions to evaluate the possibility of gender differences in the effects of the BHMP. In addition the models are run with a robust covariance matrix estimator to correct for heteroskedasticity and serial correlation of error terms.

Results

School Mobility and Changes In School Quality

As a housing program, the BHMP does not include an explicit educational intervention. However, given the dramatic changes in neighborhood context brought on by participating the BHMP, we expect similar shifts in children's in school quality as well. The observed school changes, shown in Table 2.4 in Chapter 2, suggest that this is mostly true, however not all children whose parents relocated to higher opportunity neighborhoods changed schools. Indeed, 34 percent of elementary aged children were attending school in Baltimore city in the first year after the family moved with the BHMP. Although the figures include some families who made their initial move to city neighborhoods, primarily in the earliest years of program implementation, it also suggests that a non-trivial proportion of children continued to attend their original city schools

after relocation. Nonetheless, the overall change in school quality before and after receiving the BHMP voucher was substantial. Before moving, students' schools were 87 percent black and over 80 percent of students qualified for free or reduced lunch. In contrast, after moving these poverty and race figures dropped to between 50 and 60 percent. Furthermore, only 58 percent of students in the baseline schools scored above the proficiency cutoff on their MSA tests, a figure that increases to 76 percent in the first year after moving (see Table 2.4 in Chapter 2). After the one-year required residency in an "opportunity neighborhood" was complete, there was a slight increase in school poverty and the percent of Black students, as some families made subsequent moves and their children again changed schools.[17] However, on the whole the program creates a large change in children's school contexts that persists on average after their first BHMP move.

The Effects of Mobility on Test Scores

Descriptive analyses of the standardized math test score data for movers, combining all years, show that the sample participants scored .77 standard deviations below the mean in total, reflecting the high levels of disadvantage in the population. Analyses by year (see Table 2.8 in Chapter 2) show a sharp drop in math in the year immediately following relocation: from -.72 standard deviations to -.83 below the mean. For reading the first year dip in test scores was less sharp, as students' scores drop from -0.69 standard deviations to -0.72 standard deviations below the mean. The descriptive statistics illustrate a gradual improvement in test scores over the years following the BHMP move.

[17] Defined for the BHMP as a census tract with fewer than 10% of residents living in poverty, less than 30% Black residents, and where less than 5% of the housing stock is public housing.

Table 3.1 presents the fixed effects models for math scores and Table 3.2 presents the same models for students' reading scores (columns represent separate models). Column 1 illustrates the most parsimonious specification, simply reflecting the raw difference in scores before and after the first move with the BHMP with no controls. On average, students' scores dropped about 0.19 standard deviations in math, and 0.1 standard deviations in reading, after moving with the BHMP. This is statistically significant and suggests that the disruption of the BHMP move may lead to an overall negative effect on students' academic achievement.

Given the observed descriptive trend of improvement over time following the BHMP move (see Table 2.8 in Chapter 2), Model 2 breaks this estimate down into a series of dummy variables for each year of participation in the program. Model 2 also adds controls for year and grade fixed effects as well as potential time-variant confounders including being held back a grade, promoted a grade, or moving into or out of special education. The coefficients by year suggest a general trend, rather than a precise point estimate because of the unbalanced panel. As other research has suggested, changing schools can have a negative short-term effect on achievement (Voigt, Shinn, and Nation 2012; Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2004). This model specification shows that there is a significant drop in students' math test scores in the first year after moving with the program in math, but over time mover students' scores begin to improve showing significant positive effects after about five years. The reading scores do not reflect the same significant dip in the first year after moving. These scores do show the same pattern of improvement over time, again reaching statistical significance after five years.

Model 3 consolidates the year dummy variables from Model 2 into three variables that reflect the changing effects of the program over time. This model includes one dummy variable for post-test scores (post BHMP move dummy), a separate dummy variable for whether the score is in the first year after move (first year after BHMP), and a third categorical variable for test scores in years beyond the first year, counting up from year 2 (number of years post first year). This allows for an illustration of the negative effects, typically in math, in the first year, but shows positive effects on average for subsequent years. It also shows that students' reading scores remain largely unchanged for the first two years after moving, but then begin to show improvement. This model also includes controls for year and grade fixed effects as well as potential time-variant confounders including being held back a grade, promoted a grade, or moving into or out of special education. The 'number of years post first year' variable in Model 3 indicates that students show an average increase of 0.04 standard deviations in their math test scores and a 0.05 standard deviation increase in their reading test scores each year as they remain in the program after the initial disruption in the first year.

The next set of models include additional time variant controls to examine their impact on the program effect. The coefficients for these variables will be highly correlated with the estimated program effects in the first set of models because the move is correlated with changes in students' school quality. However, the addition of these variables sequentially allows for an examination of how they influence the effects of the program variables. Model 4 examines the effects of changing school districts and schools, independent of the BHMP voucher. Since most youth change districts and schools after moving with the BHMP these variables help determine what proportion of the BHMP

coefficients are the result of these school changes. Including these variables in the model reduces the size of the first year dip in math (Table 3.1), but the positive effects of years after the first year move persist in this model. This indicates that the initial dip in students' math scores largely stems from the disruption of changing schools. The trend for reading scores, however, indicates that changing schools may not account for as much of the effect of moving with the BHMP on reading.

Model 5 adds a control for the percent of school peers who test proficient or advanced on the MSA. The inclusion of this covariate increases the size of the post-BHMP dummy variable, which is negative and significant in the models for math and reading. This indicates that for each percentage point increase in their school's MSA performance, the students in the BHMP show an average of about a .01 standard deviation increase in their reading and math scores. This reflects the importance of enrolling in higher-performing new schools after moving. Although students face a disruption in their academic performance as a result of the school transfer, there appears to be a protective effect of attending higher performing schools.

Model 6 incorporates gender interaction terms. Although none of the interaction terms are significant, the results suggest that for both math and reading the move is more beneficial for girls than boys. Boys appear to experience a greater initial dip and have a slower pace of improvement in their test scores over time than girls.

Discussion

Moving with a BHMP voucher involves a number of potentially disruptive changes in children's lives, as they move to new neighborhoods, change homes, and often enroll in new schools. And indeed, this disruption appears in the achievement test scores

of children in this sample, with a small but significant drop in their math scores the year after moving. However, this drop does not remain significant for long, as children's scores improve over time. This improvement suggests that the students in this sample are able to adjust to their new environments. Enrolling in schools with a higher percentage of peers scoring proficient or advanced on the state assessment also appears to serve as a protective factor for the children in this sample. The higher-performing schools children access after moving with the BHMP may provide students with additional academic supports that city schools don't possess, or an environment more conducive to their learning that helps to reduce the disruptive impact of mobility on children's achievement.

Although the BHMP does not include a specific educational intervention, this chapter illustrates that the effect of moving with this residential mobility program on children's academic achievement is positive and significant over time, for the sample of youth who moved during the earliest years of the BHMP. These estimates are conservative by design, estimating the treatment effect of the BHMP by including all children who moved with the program, whether or not they enrolled in a new school. This suggests the potential for even greater positive effects for students who transferred to higher performing schools after moving. However, estimating models for this subgroup of students would certainly introduce selection bias.

These findings also stand in contrast with the results from the MTO program, which found no significant effects on achievement outcomes for children (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006). One suggested explanation for the lack of significant improvement in children's academic achievement in the MTO program was that children in the treatment group attended schools only marginally better than the schools attended by students in the

control group (Briggs, Popkin, Goering 2010; DeLuca & Rosenblatt 2010). For this sample of families participating in the BHMP, children not only moved to dramatically different neighborhood contexts but also attended considerably lower poverty and higher performing schools on average. The results from this study certainly suggest that the positive school change played a large part in supporting children's achievement growth after moving.

Recent findings evaluating the effect of the MTO program on youth as they enter adulthood, showed positive and significant effects on college enrollment, earnings, neighborhood residence, and family formation among youth who were younger than thirteen at the time of random assignment (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). These findings are observed even in the absence of any statistically significant educational effects four to seven years after program implementation (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006). This highlights that children were likely gaining a broad set of skills through their residential and school changes in MTO, which paid dividends in the long-term. The fact that the BHMP shows dividends in students' academic achievement in a relatively short period of time highlights the potential for even more positive effects in the long-term for youth participating in the program.

Limitations

The primary limitation is that these data are observational and therefore the models cannot control for all potential time variant confounders. The analyses would certainly be improved by a more careful specification of additional time-varying factors that may influence student' achievement, such as changes in family income and parent job changes. These issues are especially complicated in this analysis because factors such

as family income are directly affected by program participation, since the voucher subsidizes rent cost. Therefore, simply controlling for income might incorrectly reduce the treatment effect. However, further development of this project must more specifically address potential confounding from time-varying variables not yet modeled in this chapter. In addition, the findings of fixed effects models cannot be generalized to individuals not included in the analyses. Therefore, although these findings show positive effects of moving with the BHMP for this sample of children, generalizing beyond this sample must be limited.

Finally, these analyses focus solely on test scores, but this is only one potential outcome of interest. Given the MTO findings that show positive and significant long-term effects for young children (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015), who showed no statistically significant educational effects while in school (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006), indicates that this outcome fails to capture some important changes that are likely occurring for students in their new neighborhoods and schools. A broader set of outcome measures, especially those that could capture students' development of non-cognitive skills that are highly associated with employment and earnings (Cunha et al. 2006), might more accurately depict the effects of the BHMP.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

This chapter examined the extent to which moving with the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program is associated with changes in students' math and reading achievement test scores. The findings suggest that residential mobility programs can have positive effects on students' academic achievement over time. In other words, absent any explicit educational intervention as part of the program, the BHMP produced dividends in

students' learning. However, the findings also confirm that this residential move is initially disruptive, and indicate that it takes time for students' to begin to demonstrate significant growth in their achievement scores. Furthermore, the findings suggest that enrolling in higher-performing schools after moving with the BHMP has a protective effect on students' achievement, reducing the initial disruption children experience in math. This likely reflects the importance of the counseling and programmatic supports provided by the BHMP that help families navigate their residential move into suburban communities, which provides families with access to higher-performing suburban schools.

Through the BHMP, housing policy operated as a form of school choice policy, allowing this sample of low-income, Black families to access higher-performing schools in suburban districts, and over time this residential change promoted students' academic growth. The finding that it takes time for the positive effects of moving with the BHMP to appear, suggests that mobility programs are not a "quick-fix" for children's educational challenges. The immense amount of change involved in a residential and school move takes a toll on children, and their ability to adjust to their new environment and begin to do well in their new school takes time, but it does appear that children are able to make this adjustment and improve as they remain in the program. The findings therefore suggest that residential mobility may lead to the greatest improvements in the academic achievement of younger children, especially those who move before even beginning school. This may help to minimize the disruption students' experience, and support their ability to adjust to their new contexts and benefit from the new school environments. The findings, however, certainly do not suggest that older youth do not

benefit from this type of residential move. Instead, the findings simply indicate that there may not be a statistically significant improvement in the achievement test scores of older youth who are in school for less than five years after moving. The recent positive long-term effects of the MTO program, which found no significant educational effects, certainly illustrates that youth may be reaping benefits from their new contexts that will not appear in their test scores.

Although the BHMP generated large changes in children's neighborhoods and schools on average, this type of residential mobility is far less common in the traditional Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) Program (McClure 2008; McClure and Johnson 2015; Metzger 2014). Over two million households are served each year by the HCV program, but these families often continue to reside in racially segregated and high-poverty neighborhoods with lower-performing schools even when using their subsidy. In our current legal landscape, which limits inter-district efforts to desegregate schools, housing policy becomes an important potential avenue for addressing persistent segregation and its influence on educational inequality. Strategic improvements to the Housing Choice Voucher program could reduce inequality in school access by facilitating residential moves for poor, minority students into districts with higher-performing public schools. Existing research highlights several key factors in the HCV program that currently restrict these residential options. Perhaps the most important given the current findings are the challenges families face porting their vouchers from one public housing authority's jurisdiction to another, which is often necessary in order to move into a new school district (DeLuca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2014). The design of regional housing policies that remove disincentives and bureaucratic red tape from the process of 'porting'

a voucher into a new jurisdiction within a metropolitan region could facilitate this kind of residential mobility for the families with children currently renting through the HCV program (DeLuca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2014).

Tables

Table 3.1 BHMP Voucher Receipt and Math Scores

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)	
post BHMP move dummy	-0.19	***			-0.05		-0.04		-0.21	***	-0.04	
male * post BHMP move dummy											-0.02	
pre BHMP			ref									
year 1 post BHMP			-0.09	***								
year 2 post BHMP			0.01									
year 3 post BHMP			0.00									
year 4 post BHMP			0.07	*								
year 5 post BHMP			0.12	***								
year 6 post BHMP			0.16	***								
year 7 post BHMP			0.20	***								
year 8 post BHMP			0.19	*								
year 9 post BHMP			0.10									
first year after BHMP					-0.04		-0.02		0.01		-0.03	
number of years post first year					0.04	***	0.04	***	0.04	***	0.06	***
male * first year after BHMP											-0.03	
male * number of years post first year											-0.04	**
new school							-0.11	***	-0.07	***		
new district							0.01		-0.06	***		
percent advanced/proficient									0.01	***		
year fixed effects												
2003 score			ref		ref		ref		ref		ref	
2004 score			0.04		0.04		0.06		-0.11	***	0.04	

2005 score		-0.05		-0.05		-0.02		-0.23	***	-0.05	
2006 score		-0.05		-0.05		-0.01		-0.25	**	-0.05	
2007 score		0.00		0.00		0.04		-0.21		0.00	
2008 score		0.07		0.07		0.11		-0.28		0.06	
2009 score		0.14		0.14		0.19		-0.25		0.13	
2010 score		0.11		0.11		0.16		-0.29		0.10	
2011 score		0.00		0.00		0.06		-0.37		-0.01	
grade fixed effects											
third grade		ref		ref		ref		ref		ref	
fourth grade		-0.07	*	-0.07	*	-0.05		-0.05		-0.07	*
fifth grade		-0.08		-0.08		-0.07		-0.06		-0.07	
sixth grade		-0.25	**	-0.25	**	-0.20	*	-0.09		-0.25	**
seventh grade		-0.38	***	-0.38	***	-0.38	***	-0.23		-0.38	***
eighth grade		-0.43	**	-0.43	**	-0.43	**	-0.26		-0.43	**
other controls											
grade held back		0.31	***	0.31	***	0.31	***	0.34	***	0.32	***
grade skipped		-0.28	***	-0.28	***	-0.25	***	-0.22	**	-0.28	***
special education status		0.21	***	0.21	***	0.21	***	0.23	***	0.22	***
constant	-0.75	-0.70		-0.70		-0.72		-1.17		-0.69	
σ_u	0.85	0.88		0.88		0.88		0.86		0.88	
σ_e	0.62	0.60		0.60		0.60		0.57		0.60	
ρ	0.66	0.68		0.68		0.68		0.69		0.68	

Source: BHMP Administrative Database, MSDE Administrative Database, Common Core
*p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Table 3.2 BHMP Voucher Receipt and Reading Scores

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
post BHMP move dummy	-0.10 ***		-0.02	-0.02	-0.18 ***	-0.04
male * post BHMP move dummy						0.04
pre BHMP		ref				
year 1 post BHMP		0.03				
year 2 post BHMP		0.03				
year 3 post BHMP		0.08 **				
year 4 post BHMP		0.09 **				
year 5 post BHMP		0.20 ***				
year 6 post BHMP		0.20 ***				
year 7 post BHMP		0.26 ***				
year 8 post BHMP		0.30 ***				
first year after BHMP			0.04	0.05 *	0.08 ***	0.06 *
number of years post first year			0.05 ***	0.05 ***	0.05 ***	0.06 ***
male * first year after BHMP						-0.04
male * number of years post first year						-0.02
new school				-0.08 ***	-0.05 ***	
new district				0.04 **	-0.03 *	
percent advanced/proficient					0.01 ***	
year fixed effects						
2003 score		ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
2004 score		0.24 ***	0.24 ***	0.24 ***	0.09	0.23 ***
2005 score		0.20 **	0.20 **	0.22 ***	0.04	0.20 **
2006 score		0.20	0.20	0.22	0.03	0.20

2007 score		0.29	0.29	0.32 *	0.12	0.29
2008 score		0.35	0.35	0.38	0.04	0.35
2009 score		0.37	0.38	0.41	0.03	0.38
2010 score		0.27	0.27	0.30	-0.08	0.27
2011 score		0.19	0.20	0.23	-0.13	0.20
grade fixed effects						
third grade		ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
fourth grade		-0.16 ***	-0.16 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.16 ***
fifth grade		-0.14	-0.15	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14
sixth grade		-0.29 **	-0.29 **	-0.25 *	-0.16	-0.29 **
seventh grade		-0.32 *	-0.32 *	-0.32 *	-0.20	-0.32 *
eighth grade		-0.40 *	-0.40 *	-0.40 *	-0.27	-0.40 *
other controls						
grade held back		0.24 ***	0.23 ***	0.24 ***	0.24 ***	0.24 ***
grade skipped		-0.26 ***	-0.26 ***	-0.24 **	-0.17 *	-0.26 ***
special education status		0.18 ***	0.18 ***	0.18 ***	0.18 ***	0.18 ***
constant	-0.72	-0.85	-0.85	-0.87	-1.35	-0.85
σ_u	0.80	0.82	0.82	0.82	0.79	0.82
σ_e	0.62	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.58	0.61
ρ	0.62	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.65	0.64

Source: BHMP Administrative Database, MSDE Administrative Database, Common Core
*p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01

CHAPTER 4

Unanticipated Tradeoffs: How School Policies Influence Parent Participation

Introduction[18]

Since the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 and continuing with more recently policies such as No Child Left Behind and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, parent involvement has become a targeted area for education reform (Borenstein 2012; Pomerantz, Moorman, Litwack 2007; Gartin and Murdick 2005). Taking up this mantle, scholars and practitioners have worked to design effective partnerships between schools, families, and communities that will promote student learning (Epstein 1995). These strategies are largely based on the assumption that increasing parent involvement in schools will generate positive effects for children's academic outcomes (Borenstein 2012).

Efforts to increase parent school involvement are complicated by a number of factors. First, there are broad and varied definitions of "parent involvement" in the literature (Fan and Chen 2001; Jeynes 2003). This reflects the heterogeneous forms of educational involvement parents adopt—from school-based volunteer work, to home-based homework help, and everything in between (Epstein 1995; Fan and Chen 2001). Second, parents face a variety of obstacles to their school involvement, such as financial and transportation constraints, work obligations, as well as childcare and other family needs (Heymann and Earle, 2000). Finally, parent involvement is also influenced by school norms and policies, which define acceptable forms of parent participation.

[18] This chapter builds on analyses in a conference paper co-authored with Allison Young.

Scholars argue that schools typically adopt the cultural logic of the middle class, and that school personnel orient their expectations of parent involvement around middle-class norms (Lareau and Horvat 1999). Strategies for increasing parent involvement must therefore focus not only on parent behaviors, but also on school policies, practices, and norms (Borenstein 2012).

Existing research shows that middle-class parents are more likely to be involved in schools (Lareau 1989; Useem 1991); and given that schools typically adopt middle-class norms, these parents more successfully match their participation with schools' expectations (Lareau 1989; Lareau and Horvat 1999). Studies illustrate that middle-class parents adopt multiple forms of involvement, such as participation in structured school activities and collective participation in parent organizations (Cuchiara and Horvat 2009; Lareau and Muñoz 2012), as well as individual advocacy for their child in areas such as course selection (Useem 1991). In general their participation is structured in ways that meet school expectations, and schools legitimize their involvement (Lareau and Horvat 1999). This allows middle-class parents to gain greater access to school resources for their children, and "customize" their child's education in beneficial ways (Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014; Useem 1992). Furthermore, when parents' school participation is rewarded in this way, it encourages a greater sense of efficacy for parents in the school context (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2005).

In contrast, low-income and minority parents face greater barriers to their participation, and research indicates that these parents may adopt different types of school involvement (Hill and Taylor 2004; Lee and Bowen 2006). Research shows, for example, that parents of color often practice forms of home-based involvement that are

not recognized and valued to the same extent by the school institution, such as providing emotional support (Auerbach, 2007; Green, 2013; Harris and Robinson, 2016). Furthermore, these parents encounter more frequent "moments of exclusion" when they do engage with schools that are oriented around the dominant middle-class, white culture (Lareau and Horvat 1999). When parents of color and low-income parents are excluded from the school context, one major consequence is that it limits their ability to activate school-based resources for their child, as is commonly observed among middle-class parents (Delgado-Gaitan 1991; Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014). The social reproduction of inequality in schools is perpetuated, in part, through differences in parents' participation and inclusion in the school context.[19]

This chapter further examines the role of school context in shaping parent participation through an analysis of in-depth qualitative interviews with a sample of 88 low-income, Black parents whose families move from a segregated and high-poverty urban school district into surrounding suburban districts. This residential move provides access to suburban schools that are typically resource-rich in comparison to urban schools (Orfield and Lee 2006; Rivkin 1994), and this chapter focuses on school-based parent participation because the school is a site of resource allocation for children. The literature illustrates that parents' participation at the school is one key tool for activating additional resources for their children (Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014). Thus, accessing the full potential benefits of this residential move to more affluent school districts may depend, in part, on parents' opportunities to participate in their children's new schools and activate the resources in these contexts to support their child's learning needs. This chapter

[19] School-based parent involvement has been referred to as *parent participation* by some scholars in order to separate it from the broader concept of *parental involvement* that also includes home-based activities, (Lewis and Forman 2002).

examines how the low-income, Black parents in this sample navigate their school participation after moving, and how the policies and practices of their children's new schools affect their opportunities to participate.

The findings show that for many parents, moving to a better neighborhood with the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program was an explicit parenting strategy designed to provide their children with better educational opportunities. Parents largely viewed this strategy as successful, expressing greater satisfaction with their children's schools after moving to suburban districts. However, with this move many parents unexpectedly began to encounter school policies that served as barriers to their own school-based participation in their children's education. Thus, the move created a tradeoff between access to higher-performing schools for their children and reduced participation by parents, as suburban schools often rejected and de-legitimized common forms of school-based participation accepted in city schools. These barriers reduced parents' physical presence at their children's schools, limited parents' sense of efficacy in the school context, and led parents to reconstruct their educational role to focus on involvement at home. Thus, although the school changes were positive for their children's educational experiences, parents encountered exclusionary school policies that limited their own participation in their children's schools and their potential to access additional resources for their children in the school context and "customize" their children's education – a pattern commonly articulated in the literature among middle-class, white parents (Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014).

However, the findings show that not all school policies were exclusionary. Parents in our sample with a child who had an Individualized Education Program (IEP)

experienced school policies that invited their participation at school both before and after moving to the suburbs. These local school policies and practices were shaped by the broader federal policy mandates in the Individuals with Educational Disabilities Act (IDEA), which requires that schools include parents in the process of determining the appropriate goals and services for their child's IEP (Gartin and Murdick 2005). The federal mandates shaped local school IEP policies parents experienced, in both city and suburban schools, creating a more inclusive school structure and drawing parents into more school-based participation. This inclusion promoted parents' sense of efficacy in the school context, and empowered parents to critically engage in their child's education, seeking school support and resources for their children in ways the literature observes most commonly among white and more affluent parents.

Literature Review

Underpinned by the theoretical framework of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; 1990), scholars have argued that there are significant differences in the parenting approach of middle- and working-class parents, and that these differences affect how parents engage with their children's schools (Lareau 1987; McNeal 1999). In particular, research shows that middle-class parents are better able to activate their capital in ways that match with school expectations around parental involvement (Lareau, 1987). Middle-class parents also express a greater sense of entitlement toward institutions (Lareau, 2011), and are more likely to challenge school decisions and intervene on behalf of their children, producing resources and benefits that will help their children succeed in school (Lareau 1987; 1989; Useem 1992). Lareau

(2000) describes this as "individualizing" or "customizing" their children's educational experience within bureaucratic school institutions.

Lower income parents, in contrast, have fewer resources to support their school participation, which affects their ability to comply with teachers' requests for parent involvement (Lareau 1987). In addition, the cultural capital that working-class parents possess, and their ability to activate that capital, is also less likely to fit with the expectations of schools that are largely oriented around middle-class norms. This generates "moments of exclusion" for working-class parents because they are less likely to undertake forms of parental involvement that are "legitimated and accepted by the school officials," and are therefore often unable to access and activate school resources for their child (Lareau and Horvat, 1999, pg. 48). In addition, Lareau (2011) suggests that low-income parents are more likely to possess a sense of constraint when interacting with institutions, leading them to turn primary responsibility for education over to the school, and making them less likely to intervene or challenge the school's decisions. The typical forms of parent-involvement for low-income and minority parents often maintain the hierarchical position of the school and district, requiring parents to conform to the school, with limited power sharing between parents and the school (Delgado-Gaitan 1991). As a result, working-class parents are less able to "customize" their children's education by garnering their social and cultural capital to access resources within the school context (Lareau, 2000).

Some scholarship has critiqued an overemphasis on social class in shaping parent participation, arguing that race continues to play a significant role in parents' ability to access educational resources for their children (Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Wells and Serna,

1996). Research shows that parents of color are more likely to experience exclusion from school processes by educators (Auerbach, 2007; Fine, 1991; Fordham, 1996; Gandara, 1995), and to have their contributions devalued in the school context (Greene, 2013). Lareau and Horvat (1999) argue that there is an important intersection between race and class, especially when parents challenge school practices or decisions related to their child, that results in the more frequent exclusion of low-income and minority parents than middle-class, white parents (Lareau and Horvat, 1999). Lewis-McCoy (2014) argues that white parents more frequently adopt "the role of consumer," treating schools as a resource that can be customized to support their child's learning needs, while interactions with schools lead Black parents to adopt "the role of beneficiary," viewing themselves as the beneficiary of an educational process that they have limited power to customize for their child (Lewis-McCoy, 2014).

Parents of color are also more likely to be involved in their children's education through home-based activities, emotional and moral support, and other forms of educational support that are not recognized to the same extent as school-based involvement by teachers and administrators (Auerbach, 2007; Green, 2013; Harris and Robinson, 2016). In recognition of these parental contributions, some scholars use the term *parental involvement* to refer to parents' home-based education activities and *parental participation* to describe parents' school-based activities or interventions (Lewis and Forman, 2002).[20]

While research strongly points to more constrained parental participation among low-income parents and parents of color, scholarship is less clear about how parent

[20] This paper follows the convention of using the term parent participation to refer only to school-based activities and interventions.

involvement is shaped by context. In Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995; 1997) social psychological model of parental involvement, they argue that motivation for involvement is driven by parental role construction, or beliefs about what they as parents should do in regards to their child's education, and parents' sense of self-efficacy in regards to their ability to generate positive change for their children in the school setting. In addition, parental involvement is influenced by the invitations parents receive to be involved in school. Indeed, research shows that parents are more involved when teachers actively encourage their involvement (Epstein 1991; Dauber and Epstein 1993; Deslandes and Bertrand 2005). Therefore, the design and structure of school policies and programs not only influence the opportunities for parents to participate, but these structures also influence how efficacious parents feel in the school context and how they conceptualize their role as parents in their children's schools. This perspective on parental involvement highlights that both parental role construction and self-efficacy are socially constructed and therefore subject to change in response to variation in social conditions (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2005; Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler 1997). Parents and school personnel construct the meanings and functions of parental involvement together, and do so within the local context of their particular school, and in relation to one another (Swidler, 1986).

The contemporary context for parental participation has also been shaped by the shift in federal education policy that emphasizes parental involvement as a strategy for targeted reform (Borenstein 2012; Pomerantz, Moorman, Litwack 2007; Gartin and Murdick 2005). The federal mandates around eliciting parental involvement are especially high in the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which mandates parents' inclusion on the multidisciplinary team that determines their child's

IEP goals and services (Gartin and Murdick 2005). The IEP meeting serves as focal point for collaboration between educators and parents to support children's learning. However, the implementation of IEP meetings and parental participation does not always live up to the spirit of the law, as research shows that parents' interactions with schools are often structured in ways that limit the power afforded to parents and maintain a hierarchical relationship between the school staff and the parent (Harry, Allen, and McLaughlin 1995). This is often especially true for parents of color and low-income parents (Kalyanpur, Harry, and Skrtic 2000). Harry, Allen, and McLaughlin (1995) found high levels of initial participation by Black parents of preschoolers with IEPs, but over time school practices generated obstacles to parent participation, and the power structures of these meetings mitigated parental influence. These scholars argue that their findings illustrate that there is an "untapped potential of parents as partners in decision making," but school practices ineffectively support parents' participation (Harry, Allen, and McLaughlin 1995, p. 373). The federal mandates for parental participation thus set the stage for greater parent participation, but it is at the local level that school policies and practices really shape parents' opportunities to actively participate in the decision-making process for their child's education. This study thus focuses on parents' interactions with the policies and practices of their children's schools at the local level, while acknowledging the broader federal policy context that influences the parent participation policies schools adopt.

This chapter examines how a sample of low-income, Black parents navigate their school participation after moving from a highly segregated and poor city school district into lower-poverty and more racially diverse surrounding suburban districts with a

residential mobility program. Given that suburban schools are typically resource-rich in comparison to urban schools, this residential move provides these low-income families with access to schools that may have considerable resources to support their children's learning and development. However, research shows that school resources are often activated and "customized" to support a child's learning through parent participation and advocacy for their child in the school context (Lareau 2000). Yet, scholarship is less clear about how parents' school participation is shaped by school contexts. Given the importance of parent participation for accessing school resources, this chapter examines how parents' school-based participation is affected by the local school policies and practices they experience in their children's schools after they transfer from urban to suburban schools.[21]

Sample and Methods

This chapter analyzes interviews with 88 heads of household from families that moved with the BHMP prior to 2012. (See Chapter 2 for the sampling strategy and descriptive statistics on this qualitative sample). The first wave of interviews were conducted in 2012, and over the summers of 2015 and 2016 the team conducted a wave of follow-up interviews with a total of 69 heads of household. The analytic sample for this chapter includes all 88 heads of household, primarily parents and two grandparent caregivers, and utilizes both waves of data when applicable.[22]

[21] Although this chapter focuses on parental school-based participation, the literature on the broader concept of parent involvement outlines multiple forms of involvement, both at home and at school. See Fan and Chen (2001) for a discussion of the broader treatment of parent involvement in the literature.
[22] Throughout this chapter the term parents is used to refer to both the parents and the two grandparent guardians in this sample.

The parent interviews opened with the invitation to "tell us the story of your life," and followed a semi-structured interview guide to gather detailed residential histories from each respondent and school trajectories for each of their children. We asked parents to tell us about each of their children's schools, and to compare city and suburban schools. Parents were asked about their participation at their children's schools, meetings or structured activities they attended, and their interactions and communication with teachers and school staff. Parents also talked about their children's academic performance and the support they received from the school, and the challenges their children faced at school. Using these parent narratives, we examine how the change in school context these families experienced after moving with the BHMP influenced parental involvement in their children's education.

Each interview was recorded and transcribed verbatim. A team of coders, trained to ensure inter-coder reliability, coded the interviews for themes related to residential mobility, schooling, family, neighborhoods, and housing using MAXQDA software. For this chapter additional analytic codes focused on parental school involvement and participation were applied to all interviews, capturing for example discussions about parent communication with their children's schools, visits to schools, positive and negative interactions with school personnel, parent involvement in education at home, instances when parents challenged the school, discussions about Individualized Education Programs (IEPs), experiences in IEP meetings, and parents' preferences about how their child's educational needs should be met by the school. Throughout the coding process, weekly conversations were held with the research and coding team to review cases, amend codes, and discuss emerging themes.

This qualitative approach was designed to uncover variation in parental school participation. In-depth qualitative interviews allow parents to explain how they made decisions about their participation in their children's schooling, and provide detailed narratives about their interactions with school staff and teachers. Through these narratives this chapter examines the factors that shaped parents' decisions about school participation after they moved into more affluent suburban school districts.

BHMP Move as a Parenting Strategy to Access Schools

Although the BHMP is a housing program, for many parents, providing their children with access to better educational opportunities was a primary driver of their participation – in addition to accessing safer neighborhoods. This move was in essence a parenting strategy to access improved schools for their children, and after moving children were enrolled in lower-poverty, more racially diverse, and higher-performing schools (see Table 2.8 in Chapter 2). Parents clearly articulated their school considerations when making the BHMP residential decision.

For Lisa Smith[23] her decision to participate in the BHMP was driven in part by her concerns about the education her son was receiving in his city school, and her desire to find better educational opportunities. She described her son's school in the city saying, "When he was going there, I felt as though he wasn't really getting the help that he really needed. When [the BHMP] came along, and gave the opportunity and everything, I'm like, "I'm going to take this. I'm going to try this and see how it work and everything."[24]

[23] The names of all respondents, and their children, have been changed to pseudonyms. When possible we use pseudonyms selected by the respondent.

[24] Many respondents refer to the program by the name of the non-profit that originally managed the program: Metropolitan Baltimore Quadel, or MBQ. For the sake of clarity and continuity for the reader, I have changed respondent discussions of MBQ to BHMP.

When Mary received her voucher, she started the process of deciding where to move by researching schools. She told us, "When I got into the [BHMP] program, the first thing I focused on was which schools were the best." She chose the county she moved to "because of the school system, because of the academic school system. The academics was pretty - I looked at the stats of their schools and seen how they were performing. That's how I picked."[25] Monique similarly told us, "My whole reason for going to [the BHMP] was to get away from that school and to move so my kids can go to a better school…my whole reason for moving out here was to benefit my child."

Although for many parents in this sample the residential move with the BHMP was explicitly intended to serve as an investment in their children's education, this was certainly not the only form of parental engagement in their children's education. Parents in this sample were also frequently very active participants at their children's schools. However, this residential move created a tradeoff between access to improved schools and greater restrictions on accepted forms of parents' school-based participation.

Parent School Participation

Through a presentation of detailed narratives from four parents, this chapter illustrates the range of how parent school-based participation was influenced by the school policies and practices they encountered after moving with the BHMP into higher performing, more affluent, and more racially diverse suburban school districts. There were two primary changes parents articulated about their children's schools after moving

[25] Mary's use of research on school statistics represents the most aggressive form of evaluating schools when making a residential decision. Although uncommon, it helps illustrate the range of parents' school considerations in this sample. In general, research shows that this level of school research and consideration prior to residential mobility is atypical for poor families; many poor families decouple their school and residential considerations – first ensuring their family has a place to live and then subsequently addressing school decisions (Rhodes and DeLuca 2014).

to suburban school districts that influenced parent school participation. First, the vast majority of parents were satisfied with their children's suburban schools, and one major factor underpinning their satisfaction was greater communication from suburban schools. Suburban school staff and teachers called and emailed more, and this information helped parents feel informed and involved in their children's education. Second, however, was that suburban schools were often organized with different policies around parents' school-based participation. Parents articulated facing greater barriers to their participation in suburban schools than in their children's prior city schools. This shift affected how the low-income, Black parents in our sample participated in their children's education after moving.

Although the findings will illustrate that many parents encountered barriers to their school participation, one notable group of parents experienced inclusive school policies in their child's school in both the city and the suburbs – parents with a child who has an Individualized Education Plan (IEP). Federal mandates require that schools involve parents in the IEP decision-making process (Gartin and Murdick 2005), so this group of parents experienced local school policies that actively encouraged their participation in IEP meetings because of the broader federal policy context. The experiences of these parents illustrate how school practices and policies can operate as a tool for incorporating parents into the school as partners in their children's education. The consequences of this inclusionary structure are significant; as parents articulated a greater sense of efficacy in their school interactions, and a sense of empowerment to actively engage, and when necessary, challenge the school. This stands in stark contrast to the restrictive local school policies encountered by other parents, which constrained the

avenues available for enacting a level of efficacy in their children's education within the school setting.

Mary: Discouraged Parent Participation in Suburban Schools

While living in the city, one way that parents participated in their children's schools was through informal visits. Stopping by to visit the school allowed parents to monitor their children's behavior at school and check on their academic progress. Their physical presence at the school was part of how they stayed informed about their child's education, and they would often sit in on their children's classes or informally volunteer. However, after moving to the suburbs, school policies and practices were more focused on scheduling appointments to meet with teachers after the school day, and parents were rarely allowed to observe the classroom. This shift directly affected the forms of school-based participation that parents were able to enact, and often served to discourage parent participation in suburban schools.

Mary, a 45-year-old mother of three who works as a pharmacy technician, moved to the suburbs with the BHMP when her oldest daughter, Brianna, was in high school and her two younger sons were in elementary school. Mary began spending a significant amount of time visiting and volunteering at her children's schools in the city after her daughter Brianna struggled in elementary school, but in the suburbs Mary encountered barriers to her school participation.

When Brianna was in elementary school and the family lived in the city, Mary was unable to get actively involved in her daughter's school because of her work schedule. She told us: "She was held back, and even with her being held back she still didn't do that great. It wasn't...I felt bad because I wasn't...I didn't have the time to put in

with her because I had to work." Mary attributes Brianna's academic challenges partly to her own limited parent involvement when Brianna was younger. "I think if the kids don't get it in the first couple of years, it's going to be hard as they get older. It was really hard; and then when I finally had the time to dedicate, she just was so far behind it was almost impossible for her to play catch-up."

Brianna continued to struggle when she started high school in the city, and her academic challenges only grew when she started skipping and showing up late to class. To address the situation, Mary began visiting the city high school in the mornings after she worked her night shift to check on her daughter. "I come and I sat next to her 'cause I told the teacher, 'Oh make sure the chair next to her is empty 'cause she's going to have company.' So I sat with her the whole day in that class." To make sure Brianna would attend each class on time, Mary walked with her from one class to the next: "we're gon' walk down the hall holding hands, because apparently you can't go by yourself. So I'm gon' hold your hand and make sure you make it to the next class." After the public embarrassment of her mother holding her hand and walking her between classes, Brianna began arriving to class on time. "And the teachers was like 'Oh, it worked.' I was like 'Well, good, 'cause it killed me.' I was exhausted."

Given the challenges Brianna has faced, Mary prioritized being involved at her sons' city elementary school from the outset, particularly after she was diagnosed with a medical condition that left her unable to work for a period of about two years. "I volunteered at the kids' school because I would have lost my mind if I sat home... and I noticed that volunteering at their school and going up to their school and constantly talking to their teachers, my kids started accelerating. Their grades just drastically went

up." Mary viewed her physical presence at the boys' school, and the regular communication this established with their teachers as an important part of their academic improvement. She put this in contrast with her daughter being held back, which she attributed partly to her inability to be present at Brianna's school when she was young.

Mary's deep investment in her children's education meant that when she received her BHMP voucher, her first priority was moving to a suburban neighborhood where her children could enroll in the best possible schools. "So when I got into the BHMP program, the first thing I focused on was which schools were the best." She moved to her suburban school district specifically because "the education here is awesome; the academics is wonderful." Mary was concerned that her two sons, who were on the honor roll in their city school, would be academically behind in their new suburban school. "I was like, 'I'm going to bring them out here. I'm going to see how they do. This is a challenge because Baltimore City didn't challenge them that much.'" She was pleasantly surprised when her sons' adjustment to the suburban schools went smoothly. "We get here, and, one was in the fifth grade and the other one was in the third grade when we first moved here…they caught up pretty quick and they maintained…they made honor roll."

Though she was happy with her son's academic performance and the quality of the education her children were receiving, Mary was disappointed that the suburban schools made it more challenging for her to be involved as a parent in the same ways she had been in the city schools. "You're not able to just go to the school; you have to make appointments...And that's the one thing I didn't like, because I don't know when I'll have that time to go up; I hated that. I wasn't able to get to the school as much as I wanted to."

When she tried to visit one of her sons at school, she was told that it would be a distraction. "They was like, 'Oh, you have to make an appointment. We usually don't have parents just sit in the classroom 'cause it's a distraction.'" This reasoning was counter-intuitive to Mary, who believed her son would be better behaved if she were present in his classroom. "I was like, 'How?' That's what I was thinking like 'How? If anything he's gonna do what he's supposed to if I'm sitting there.'"

Undeterred by the requirement of making an appointment, Mary emailed her son's teachers to see if any of them would allow her to sit in on her son's classes. "So I had to start sending the teachers emails and stuff like that and asking them, but none of them would allow me to come and actually sit in the classroom. All of them said 'No.' They was like, 'No, but we can meet you after class and we can talk to you after school.'" This arrangement was not satisfactory for Mary; "I was like that doesn't work for me. I was like, I like the element of surprise that my kids can be like, 'Oh I can't show off 'cause this woman might show up.' So, we lost that." Mary's forms of parent participation were constrained by the suburban school's policy of limiting parent time in the school building primarily to after-school meetings with the teacher. This type of participation failed to align with Mary's objective of monitoring her children's behavior at school, which the school either failed to understand or did not value as much as Mary. When her requests to visit the classroom were denied, Mary's involvement shifted to primarily home-based activities. Although home-based forms of parent involvement are one important tool for supporting children's learning (Epstein 1995), directing parents away from school-based participation limits their knowledge of the resources and opportunities available in the school.

Mary's participation in her older daughter Brianna's education also changed after she enrolled in a suburban high school. After moving Brianna continued to struggle in her suburban high school, and Mary was concerned that she was at risk of dropping out. Mary met with the school counselor to discuss alternative options for Brianna to complete her degree, but she told us that her opinions about how to address her daughter's educational needs were largely dismissed by the suburban high school counselor. Mary suggested that enrolling in night school might be the best option for Brianna. "It just so happens I just see the road that she's taking, that she's going to drop out. I'd rather her withdraw from school and we can get her into an alternative school where she can go to a night school or something like that." Her daughter was struggling to get up in the morning and go to school, so Mary thought she might have a better chance of graduating if she could attend class at night. She describes the counselor as responding to her suggestion with an accusatory tone; "He was like, "So where are you when she's doing this?" I said, "I'm at work. I'm not able to see if she...I can see that she got up in the morning, then I go off to work." Viewing this as an attack on her parental investment in Brianna's education, Mary expressed frustration to the counselor that she was unable to visit the suburban school to check on Brianna, as she had in the city. "I can't walk her to school and make sure...and shove her in the building and set her down. For one, you guys don't even let me come up here and do visits because there's times that I came up here and I was stopped at the door by security saying, "Where are you going? No, you're not getting back there." Mary's objection to the counselor's comments suggests that she thinks her presence at school could have made a difference for her

daughter, if it were allowed, but that school policies constrained her ability to support her daughter's education through school participation.

The counselor recommended against the alternative school idea, and Brianna promised to start going to school every day. Mary agreed to give it another try, against what she believed was her better judgment. "He was like, 'Well she wants it now.' I was like, 'No, she always wanted it, but she just didn't do it. I know that this isn't going to happen. I'll give it another try.'" Unfortunately, Brianna started skipping school again and dropped out soon after this meeting.

For Mary, the suburban schools, in comparison to their prior city schools, erected barriers to her school-based participation. City schools were more receptive to Mary's visits during the school day, even when unannounced. Although Mary describes the suburban schools as providing an "awesome" education, she was unable to enact her desired form of parental school participation. In addition, her perspective on the best course of action to support Brianna was rejected by the high school counselor. As a result of the barriers she faced in her children's new schools, Mary's parent participation at school was restricted, and she had to primarily rely on home-based forms of parent involvement and academic support in the suburbs.

Mary illustrates how parents in this study experienced barriers to school-based participation in the suburbs. This shift was contemporaneous with parents expressing greater satisfaction with their children's education in suburban schools. Although pleased with the education their children were receiving, parents still articulated a sense of exclusion from their children's suburban schools. Though they wished to be engaged parents, suburban school policies did not validate the forms of participation and

underlying motivations that were most important to parents coming from the city. This restriction redefined the role of parents in the educational process, limiting their activities to occur separately from the school day, and limiting their access to school spaces. This restriction of parents' preferred forms of school-based participation by suburban schools constrained the avenues through which parents might develop a sense of efficacy regarding their children's education within the suburban school settings.

Michelle: School Constraints Limit Parent Efficacy

Another group of parents in this sample relied primarily on school communication, and less frequently on school-based participation to remain informed and involved in their children's education. For these parents the move into suburban school districts was often quite satisfactory, as parents generally describe an increase in the communication from schools in the suburbs compared to the city. However, these parents still expected to meet with school staff and teachers if their children were struggling in school, academically or behaviorally. Indeed, it is in these moments of struggle that this group of parents most expected to meet with teachers or school staff, and to participate in the decision-making process about how to support their child's needs. When parents experienced exclusion, even in the form of teachers who were difficult to schedule meetings with, it generated a sense of constraint among parents, and limited their sense of efficacy in the school context. In fact, these moments of exclusion in suburban schools were potentially more stark because they were put in contrast with the frequent, regular communication parents normally received – emphasizing those moments when parents were left out of the school decision-making process.

Michelle, a 36-year-old mother of three who works at a hotel, moved with the

BHMP when her daughter, Demi, was in elementary school and before her younger two sons were enrolled in school. When deciding where to move in the suburbs she relied upon the advice of several acquaintances that recommended one particular suburban community: "They said that the schools, mainly they were talking about the schools, 'The schools are great'. So I said, 'I'm going to give it a try.'" After moving Michelle was pleased with the neighborhood elementary school, but as her daughter got older and enrolled in the local high school she began to struggle academically. Michelle became frustrated with how the high school addressed Demi's academic needs, and her inability to schedule times to meet with her daughter's teacher to talk about her academic progress. Michelle's narrative reflects how a school's failure to incorporate parents in moments when their children are facing academic or behavioral challenges, constrains parents' sense of efficacy in the school context.

When they first moved Michelle was very pleased with her daughter Demi's new suburban elementary school. When asked about the differences between the city and suburban schools she told us, "The biggest difference I would say is the work part […] she was bored in there." Although bored at her city school, Demi was challenged by her academic work in the suburbs. Michelle also spoke highly of the communication she received as a parent from the suburban schools through phone calls: "If they slack, they're going to call you and let you know. I pretty much like that." Now her younger two sons are enrolled in the neighborhood elementary school and Michelle continued to praise the school saying, "That school is good, really good. They rate pretty high for the elementary schools out here."

After living in her suburban neighborhood for five years, Michelle's daughter is

now a high school student, and although Michelle thought highly of the local elementary school she was less pleased with the high school. She told us, "Its just wild, so unorganized. When you go there, you go to the office and you stand there for a couple minutes and someone says can they help you. The kids are just everywhere." Not only were students in the hallways when Michelle visited the school, but the office was disorganized in its ability to quickly assist her as a parent when she visited.

During her freshman year, Demi, who had been an honor roll student since elementary school, began to struggle academically. When we interviewed Michelle in 2012 she told us:

> Whenever she was slacking, they would call me and say, 'Look, these are her grades. What can we do to put together and bring her grades up?' So that was good. I just think that they pretty much need to control the school better. You have little hangout spots, some kids on their own. I'm not feeling that one.

During Demi's freshman year Michelle was able to schedule several meetings at the school to discuss the challenges her daughter was having, but Michelle still decided that transferring Demi to a new high school was the best option. However, her reasons for pursuing this transfer did not meet the districts requirements:

> I've been there a couple times last year because she was having problems with certain teachers or certain students. So, I've been up there a couple times. I even tried to get her out of that school but another, in order for her to go to another school outside her zone, they have to offer something her zone school doesn't. […] She would have to like enter like ROTC at another school or something like that, a different program that her school doesn't offer.

Thwarted in her attempts to enroll her daughter in a different high school, Demi was still enrolled at the same high school when we conducted our follow up interview in 2015.

Three years later, Michelle's frustrations with the high school had only grown and she felt increasingly excluded from the school. In our follow-up interview she articulated facing considerable challenges scheduling meetings and communicating with school personnel. When the family initially moved to the suburbs, Michelle saw an immense improvement in the communication she received from her children's schools, but she felt that the suburban high school failed to communicate sufficiently about the challenges Demi was facing with her math class during her senior year. Michelle knew her daughter was struggling, but was unaware of how close Demi was to failing the class and not graduating on time. In particular, Michelle expressed frustration about her attempts to contact her daughter's math teacher at the school. "When I went up there it was always she was busy. She had to call us back or thing – it was always something with that school. I'm like you all are very unprofessional, very." Not only was Michelle unable to meet with her daughter's teacher, but the school also made it challenging for Demi to receive the extra assistance she needed. Demi's teacher assigned her to an extra math tutoring class, but Demi had to sign up ahead of time to be able to take the course, and if she failed to make an appointment she was unable to attend the session. Michelle describes the challenge of getting extra help saying:

> When she went the – she went one time and they told her that she needed an appointment, and she's like, 'Why do I need an appointment if my teacher signed me up for this class?' And she's like, 'Well, you need an appointment to come'…and she went one time and then all the other times it was, 'Oh, well, the class is full now.'

Michelle viewed the school as erecting roadblocks to her daughter's success, rather than supporting Demi and working with her to make sure she would be able to graduate on time. The school also failed to keep Michelle sufficiently informed of the challenges

Demi was facing, limiting her ability to work with the school and help her daughter appropriately at home.

The academic challenges were not the only issues Demi faced that Michelle felt the school mishandled, and which she felt relatively powerless to change. Her daughter was also charged with stealing at the school, but Michelle told us that several other students were also caught on camera but her daughter was the only one who went to court. All of her attempts to challenge the school on the issue of only punishing her daughter were unsuccessful. "So my thing is, why didn't all three of them get in trouble? Because all of them was there and every time I go up there and me and the officer get into it. I said, 'You all don't even make no sense. You ain't even doing your job.' I think they used to not like when I came up there because it wasn't pretty." Even after repeated meetings at the school with the administrators and the school police officer, her daughter was the only student who went to court over the incident. Michelle had little influence over the school's decision-making process. She told us that during her daughter's court appearance, "the people in the court was like, 'You need to choose better friends because it's not the first time them kids done been involved in stuff like this, but you're the one getting in trouble this time.'" In the end her daughter had to do community service and was suspended for several days.

For Michelle the final straw was when the school did not inform her that Demi would not be graduating with her class because she failed her math exam. In fact, it was Demi who found out just before the graduation rehearsal. "The week of the graduation. They was graduating on a Thursday. They told her Monday when she was going to rehearsal […] and then the counselor was like, 'Well, you got to go to summer school to

take your exam over because you failed the exam.' Really? Like who does that? No letter home, no nothing." Michelle viewed this as both a failure on the school's part to sufficiently support her daughter's academic needs, and a failure to communicate about the problem in an appropriate way because they never called or emailed to speak with her about the issue.

Although it is not uncommon for parents to have limited influence over a school's disciplinary decisions, this incident served to reinforce Michelle's sense of constraint and limited efficacy in the school setting that began with the challenges she faced trying to meet with Demi's math teacher. After Demi failed to graduate with her class and had to enroll in summer school, Michelle told us that she planned to move out of the neighborhood she has lived in for the past five years and into a different school catchment area in the same suburban community before her younger sons enroll in high school. Michelle's frustrations with the high school, and her own sense of constraint and limited efficacy in this setting, were sufficient to lead Michelle to view a residential move as necessary in order to ensure her sons' would receive the best possible education.

Michelle illustrates how important a sense of inclusion, participation, and efficacy is in the school setting, even for parents who choose more limited school-based participation. Michelle was not a parent who emphasized making frequent visits to the school, but when her daughter was struggling she expected to be able to meet with her math teacher. At the times when children are struggling, academically or behaviorally, school-based meetings become particularly important, and failure to provide parents with access to the school and information about how to support their children are a critical form of exclusion. For some parents in this sample, their sense of exclusion in these

moments may have been heightened in their suburban communities because it stands in starker contrast with more regular communication via phone and email. When schools and teachers did not validate parents concerns, and made it challenging for parents to set meetings, it engendered a limited sense of efficacy in the school setting among parents.

School Structures that Invite Parent Participation

Across this sample there was one notable group of parents who encountered school policies in both urban and suburban schools that encouraged their school participation. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act mandates that parents are an included member of the decision-making team for the educational goals and provision of services for children who have an Individualized Education Program (IEP) (Gartin and Murdick 2005). This law is translated by schools into a specific set of policies and practices in order to meet the mandate of including parents. Among the 88 parents in this sample, 46 (52%) had at least one child with an IEP, and half of these (23 families) had a child with an IEP prior to moving to the suburbs. For parents already participating in the IEP process in the city school district, the formal structure of inclusion in the educational decision-making process for their child persisted as they enrolled their child in a suburban school. However, for the 23 parents in this sample with a child who received an IEP in the suburbs, the IEP meetings served as a new structured way for parents to participate in their child's education.

In contrast to suburban school policies and instances of exclusion that restricted school-based parent participation and generated a limited sense of efficacy for parents in the school setting, IEP meetings are a school structure that incorporated parents and

afforded a greater sense of efficacy in regards to their child's education, even in suburban schools. This is not to say that parents of children with IEPs were always able to influence the school to produce their desired outcome, but they do articulate a greater sense of access to the school decision-making process, and they articulate a clearer sense of efficacy in the school setting. This likely stems from a learned set of skills that come from repeated interactions with the school system around their child's IEP, and greater information about how the school decision-making process operates. The IEP documents themselves also serve as a source of entitlement, providing parents with a clear record of the educational services their child is entitled to receive, and creating a tool by which parents can judge the school's success in promoting their child's learning. The unique structure of the Individualized Education Program brings parents to the table as active participants in school decision-making, affording them a rare level of power in school interactions.

However, it is important to note that these moments of parental inclusion come at the cost of a special education designation for their child. As Donovan and Cross (2002) wrote in their report on minority students in special education:

> In order to be eligible for the additional resources a child must be labeled as having a disability, a label that signals substandard performance. And while that label is intended to bring additional supports, it may also bring lowered expectations on the part of teachers, other children, and the identified student. When a child cannot learn without the additional supports, *and* when the supports improve outcomes for the child, that trade-off may well be worth making. But because there is a trade-off, both the need and the benefit should be established before the label and the cost are imposed (emphasis in the original, p. 2-3).

Given the overrepresentation of students of color and low-income students among youth receiving special education designations (Donovan and Cross 2002), it should be of grave

concern that processes of parent incorporation appear to occur most frequently when the child receives a label that may produce exclusionary experiences for the student. In other words, the costs of greater school support for parent participation and efficacy observed in this sample may be very high for students.

Alicia: The Power of the IEP as a Legal Document

Alicia is a 35-year-old mother of four who is currently unemployed and receiving temporary cash assistance. Alicia's oldest daughter, who is severely handicapped, received an IEP at a very young age due to her special needs. As a result, Alicia began meeting with schools about the appropriate provision of services for her children early on. Now three of her children have IEP or 504 Plans,[26] and Alicia is adept at navigating school bureaucracy and using the IEP documentation to ensure her children receive the services to which they are entitled, regardless of their school district.

When Alicia's family first moved to the suburbs, she had to fight for her oldest daughter to attend a school equipped to meet her needs. "They were trying to send [my oldest daughter] to the zone school and I kept telling them. I said 'She can't go to this school. She needs a nurse around the clock.'" To ensure her daughter was enrolled in an appropriate school Alicia told us, "I took her school records over there, and when they looked at it and they realized that they couldn't suit any of her needs at that school just from off of the first page, they realized that when I was telling them she couldn't attend their school that I was right. I know what kind of setting she has to be in." Alicia used her daughter's school records as a tool to insist the suburban school district enroll her in an

[26] 504 Plans use a broader definition of disability than IEP Plans, but still outline the appropriate provision of services.

appropriate educational setting, and empowered by these documents Alicia compelled the district to comply with her requests.

After only one year in the suburbs, Alicia's landlord stopped accepting the BHMP voucher and the family moved back to the city leading her children to again transfer schools. Back in the city, however, Alicia was disappointed with how their new school handled her children's special education services. Alicia told us, "I knew that they didn't have a clue what they was doing. Every school year they had a new IEP Chair. It doesn't work like that… I said, 'I can't wait to get my kids out of this school.' I did everything that I could think of to get them out of that school. Them people had drove me up the wall." Unwilling to put up with the school's failure to appropriately address her children's needs, and disorganization in the school's management of the IEP team, Alicia used the school choice options available in the city school district to enroll her children in a charter school.

Her prior frustrations with schools in both the city and suburban districts translated into increased vigilance about her children's educational services. She told us that when she attends the IEP meetings for her youngest daughter at the new city charter school, "I even get a highlighter cause I need to make sure that they know that I reads everything. They asked me, 'Well, do you need the um, you need any extra reports?' 'No, I got the ones you sent me right here. I read them.' 'And do you have any questions?' 'No, if I have any questions trust me, I'm going to ask my question.'" Alicia's highlighted copies of her daughter's IEP documentation are a signal to the team that Alicia is engaged and prepared to participate in the conversations about her daughter's services.

Alicia emphasized how she uses the IEP and 504 Plan documentation to monitor how well the schools are meeting her children's educational needs. Alicia described the 504 Plan as "a legal document" that outlines the services her son, a rising 8th grader in 2016, is entitled to receive. "It's uh basically a sheet of paper that says that he's supposed to be allowed extra time for tests and um, uh quizzes, um redirection, preferential seating. He's supposed to be off at breaks, chunking up his assignments…basically, it's the same as an IEP, except for he don't have pullout." She described frequently checking in with her son to make sure the school was affording him the time and assistance he needs, knowing that she can rely on this documentation to monitor and, when needed, challenge the school if they fail to provide the appropriate services. "I ask him all the time, 'Are they allowing you to have your breaks? Because if they are not, we need to let somebody know because they are breaking some rules.' And it's serious cause this piece of paper that I have is a legal document, and they can't just do what they want to do." The 504 Plan documentation provided Alicia with leverage and power, the services the document outlines for her son translated into a sense of parental entitlement in Alicia, allowing her to check and challenge the school to ensure her son received everything he needs to succeed in school.

The IEP meetings provide an inclusive school structure for Alicia's involvement in her children's education. The legal nature of the special education documentation helped Alicia assert authority when she made demands of the both the city and suburban schools, in a way that she, as a low-income, Black mother with a high-school diploma, might not otherwise feel empowered to do. The documents themselves play a central symbolic role in this process for her, as she described bringing her own highlighted

copies to meetings as a signal to school personnel that she is an informed, prepared, and engaged parent with high expectations of the school. Thus, regardless of the school district in which her children are enrolled, the IEP structure and documentation provided Alicia with an important set of resources to ensure her children received the appropriate services. The formal structure of IEP meetings persisted across city and suburban districts, continuing to allow Alicia access to the school decision-making process regardless of where she lived.

Whitney: Parent Advocacy

Whitney, a 45-year-old mother of seven, with four children still living at home, works part-time as a nursing assistant. When the family moved to the suburbs with the BHMP, Whitney's daughter Rhonda was in third grade. Rhonda received an IEP at a very young age in the city school system; "she's been in IEP since Head Start." The IEP meetings serve as a structured way for Whitney to remain involved and check on her daughter's academic progress. When Rhonda faces challenges at school, Whitney intervenes in school practices, working with the school and her daughter to make sure Rhonda remains academically on-track.

Whitney was very involved with Rhonda's schools while living in the city before moving with the BHMP. She repeatedly challenged the city elementary school when they suggested holding her back a grade. "They were like, 'I really think she should stay here in this grade for another year.' I always told them no and signed whatever it was I had to sign because I knew that she had it in her, you all just weren't pulling it out. So I wouldn't let them hold her back." Based on what she observed at home Whitney knew that Rhonda was capable of completing the work, and did not want her to be held back.

She told us, “If I see her doing it at home and I know she can do it, and then when she gets here with you guys she’s not doing it, then something is wrong somewhere. So I wouldn’t let them hold her back, each year I did what I had to do. I had to shed tears at a meeting or whatever, they were not holding my daughter back.” Whitney felt vindicated in refusing to allow Rhonda to be held back in the city school district because when they moved to the suburbs with the BHMP her daughter flourished, “she got out here and it came out. I mean all her report cards are great.”

Similar to Mary’s earlier discussion about visiting her children’s schools, Whitney also felt it was important to visit her children’s schools frequently, and regularly popped in to her daughter’s city school. She told us, “My relationships with the teachers at the [city school] too were okay because I always kept myself there…just to peek at my baby, peek at my kids...then I would walk on back home.” In their suburban schools, where Whitney was pleased with her children’s educational experiences, she spent considerably less time at their schools. In part, this was due to additional hurdles the school required of parent volunteers. “You actually have to take a class to volunteer. They don’t let just any parent walk in and say, ‘I’m here. I’m spending the day in the classroom.’” She also faced greater transportation barriers in the suburbs; in the absence of a public bus, “you have to have a ride to get there.” However, Whitney continued to stay informed about her children’s progress through her invited participation in IEP meetings and updates from teachers via phone and email. She told us, “I’m okay while they’re there…If I have a problem with things, which is rare, I know how I can get to that...I haven’t had to go to that. I only go there when it’s parents’ time to come, when parents have to be there for something. Other than that, I don’t have to be worried about

them a lot." Whitney's satisfaction with the education her children were receiving in the suburbs limited her need to visit the school; she wasn't "worried" about her children's daily school experiences and consistent communication kept her informed.

Unfortunately, the owners of the suburban home Whitney was renting with her BHMP voucher decided to sell the house, and the family had to move just before Rhonda entered middle school. Although Whitney would have preferred to stay in in the same neighborhood, with only 60 days to find a new place she settled for a townhouse in a different suburban school district. As a result, Rhonda had to transfer to a different middle school before starting 6th grade. Whitney was disappointed with how this new suburban school handled Rhonda's IEP compared to her previous school. "So then when she moved here…the classroom size changed, and they were more so just stick her in a class and go." Whitney thought that the school staff did not spend enough time coordinating her daughter's services, and they did not sufficiently keep her informed about Rhonda's academic progress. Whitney was unsatisfied because she had seen the preparation and investment of the middle school staff in their previous suburban neighborhood: "They were already waiting for her, knew what kind of girl she were, they met her, they met with me…out there, they actually sat and they work with you, and they let you know if the child's having a hard time." In contrast, Rhonda's new suburban school fell short.

In response to her dissatisfaction Whitney became an increasingly involved advocate for her daughter. Rather than stepping back from the new school when she was less included in the decision-making process, Whitney instead took the initiative to design a system for the teachers that would ensure they were working with Rhonda and

communicating with her about what she could to do at home. “I started my own folder, and I called the school, and I let the guidance counselor know, I’m sending Rhonda to school with a folder…and the teachers had to sign it for me, to let me know that she wrote her homework down today and she did come with all her supplies and she did have her glasses on.” With this system in place, Whitney was able to make sure Rhonda had the tools she needed to keep up with her schoolwork. She said, “It wasn’t good in the beginning because they weren’t really looking at her and grading her—giving her that extra boost like they should’ve until the end of the year where I pushed it. When I saw that they were thinking about holding her back. Then that’s when I really got involved.” Whitney’s actions also served as an indicator to Rhonda’s teachers that she is a highly engaged mother, who will advocate for her child. After recognizing how involved Whitney was going to be in her daughter’s education the guidance counselor at the new school became more responsive to Whitney’s requests; “once she saw how I was, she got real helpful.”

When living in a suburban school district that was serving Rhonda’s needs well, Whitney remained engaged in IEP meetings, but visited and intervened less often at the school because she felt informed, included, and confident that they were keeping Rhonda on track. However, after making a second residential move to a new school district, Whitney was disappointed with how the school was supporting Rhonda and engaging her as a parent. Concerned that they would hold Rhonda back a grade, Whitney intervened at the new school and advocated for her daughter. Whitney did not feel constrained to accept the school’s recommendations, rather she felt empowered and capable of intervening at school to develop a system that would work for her daughter and the

teachers. She ultimately received support from the teachers and staff for her folder system, which helped prevent Rhonda from being held back.

For both Alicia and Whitney the federal mandate that schools include parents in the decision-making process for their children's special education services provided the back-drop upon which these parents established a sense of efficacy within their children's city and suburban schools. For both Alicia and Whitney, the IEP documentation's articulation of specific services their child was entitled to receive provided a clear guideline for monitoring the school's activity, and an entitlement to challenge the school when they failed to deliver on the required services. Both mothers became increasingly involved when their children's schools failed to properly deliver services or meet their children's academic needs. As a result of the empowerment the IEP structure provided, these parents redoubled their participation efforts when they faced barriers, even in suburban schools with a more restrictive culture of parent participation. Although they were not always successful when making requests of the school, their children's IEPs provided a source of power, and a sense of efficacy and entitlement, that underpinned their school participation.

Discussion

Prior research shows that the social reproduction of inequality in schools is perpetuated, in part, through parents' ability to generate "moments of inclusion" and "moments of exclusion" in their children's schools (Lareau and Horvat 1999). Given schools' adoption of dominant culture, middle-class and white parents are typically better able to activate their social and cultural capital in school interactions in ways that are

legitimized by the school institution (Lareau and Horvat 1999). And by doing so these parents are able to activate school resources for their children's benefit (Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014; Useem 1992). What this chapter finds is that parents' experiences of inclusion and exclusion by the school have an impact on their ongoing choices around school-based participation.

By examining parents' school participation following a change in school context, this chapter illustrates that local school policies and practices play an important role in shaping parents' perception of their efficacy in the school context, which directly relates to their participation decisions (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler 1995; 1997). In this sample of low-income, Black families, parents who experienced school practices that invited their school participation and explicitly incorporated them in school decision-making, have an increased sense of efficacy in the school context. This encourages further participation, and parents' repeated school interactions often helped them develop the skills needed to effectively monitor and challenge the school's decisions when necessary. Parents are empowered by inclusive school policies and practices; in contrast, policies that exclude parents from school participation and school decision-making constrain their sense of efficacy. This reduces parents' participation and limits parents ability to seek and activate school resources to support their child's learning, given that this process typically occurs through parent-school interactions (Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014).

For many of the low-income, Black parents in this sample, participating in the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program was an explicit parenting strategy to provide their children with access to better educational opportunities. In general, parents viewed this

strategy as successful, articulating greater satisfaction with their children's suburban schools after moving with the BHMP. However, this residential move generated an unanticipated tradeoff between improvement in school quality, and limitations on their own parental school participation. Just as families entered suburban communities of greater resources, many parents faced greater exclusion from the school context.

As their children enrolled in higher-performing, more affluent, and more racially diverse suburban districts, school staff more frequently turned away parents' informal visits, generating new moments of exclusion for these parents and reducing their school-based participation. In the city, many parents were used to a school culture that allowed informal parent visits to check on their child and observe their classroom. However, suburban schools drew stricter boundaries around acceptable parental school-based participation. For example, suburban schools discouraged unplanned visits, such as those Mary preferred, in favor of parents making appointments to speak to the teacher after school. Even among parents who typically made fewer school visits, like Michelle, moments of exclusion arose at critical points when their children were struggling academically or behaviorally in school. School policies often broadly served as a deterrent to parents' school-based participation, largely restricting parents to home-based involvement, and created a sense of constraint among parents in regards to the school institution. This exclusion reduced parents' sense of efficacy in the school context.

Even in the face of school structures that discouraged their participation, parents often remained satisfied with their children's suburban schools, articulating greater communication from teachers, higher academic expectations, and improved academic achievement for their children. Mary, for example, was thrilled with her sons' academic

success after moving to the suburbs. Consistent reports about their children's progress helped parents feel informed, even when schools put up barriers to the type of school-based participation parents had employed in the city. However, given that resource activation, such as enrolling children in specific programs or accessing advanced courses, often occurs through parents' participation and involvement at the school (Lareau and Horvat 1999), although parents felt informed, these more restrictive school policies curtailed opportunities for parents to gain a greater sense of efficacy within the suburban school context and to active school resources to the benefit of their children.

However, this chapter also illustrates that the exclusion of parents is not an inevitable or necessary outcome. For the findings show that school policies can operate in a way that explicitly incorporates parents, and affords parents a greater sense of efficacy in the school setting. Inclusive school policies were frequently observed in this sample through invited participation in meetings and decisions about a child's Individualized Education Program (IEP). Over half of our parents (52%) had at least one child with an IEP by the time of our 2016 interviews. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) mandates the inclusion of these parents in the decision-making process for their child's special education goals and service. This requires that schools generate policies at the local level to meet this mandate, and parents' participation at their children's schools was then structured through the implementation of regular meetings about their child's IEP. Given the federal mandate, inclusive school policies were in place across both urban and suburban school contexts.

The IEP documents provided parents with power and leverage in school decision-making processes; tools rarely ceded to low-income, minority parents by middle-class

white institutions (Delgado-Gaitan 1991). Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995; 1997) argue that parents' involvement in school is motivated in part by their sense of efficacy in regards to helping their child succeed in school. The IEP structure allows parents to develop a greater sense of efficacy by providing an understanding of how school decisions are made, and affording parents a level of power within this process. While parents' interactions with schools may not always produce the desired results (Harry, Allen, and McLaughlin, 1995; Kalyanpur, Harry, and Skrtic, 2000), we find that parents' sense of efficacy in the school institution was positively influenced by their participation in the IEP process.

The IEP and 504 Plan documents serve as a clear outline of the services to which their child is entitled. Alicia describes her son's 504 Plan as a "legal document" and was very careful to check that his services were appropriately delivered. Similarly, Whitney designed and implemented her own folder system to help her ensure her daughter was completing her work. Her ability to design a workable system and convince the relevant parties to adopt it reflects her skills and efficacy in negotiating with schools. The power afforded to parents through the IEP process supported their sense of entitlement to a "customized" education for their child; a pattern commonly articulated in the literature among middle-class, white parents but rarely attributed to low-income, minority parents (Lareau, 2000; Lewis-McCoy, 2014). However, in this sample of low-income, Black families the findings show that parents whose children have IEPs are more likely to possess the self-efficacy and skills necessary to successfully intervene on their child's behalf to customize services. It is consequential, however, that this process occurs within

the context of a special education designation, as this generates a new tradeoff between parental efficacy in the school context and a child's disability designation.

The federal mandate for parent participation clearly has an impact on schools' efforts to include parents in the educational process, unfortunately, for many of the low-income, Black parents in this sample, they are less actively included by the school until their child receives a disability designation. This designation, however, is often interpreted as a signal of limited academic proficiency that leads many teachers to lower their expectations (Donovan and Cross 2002). It simply should not take labeling a child as having a disability in order for low-income, Black parents to be actively afforded a role and a voice in the school context. The potential for inclusive parent participation is there, reflected in the influence of these IEP processes on parents' sense of efficacy in the school context, but its application remains markedly limited.

Conclusion

Contrary to the existing literature that suggests low-income and minority parents typically have low levels of school involvement, this study illustrates a deep investment in education and school participation among a sample of low-income, Black parents. However, in keeping with earlier research, the findings also show that these parents frequently experience exclusionary school policies and practices that limit their ability to participate in their children's schools (Lareau and Horvat 1999). After moving to resource-rich suburban school districts, parents in this sample found that some of their frequently relied-upon strategies for parent school-based participation were rebuffed. As federal education policies continue to focus on increasing parent involvement, this

chapter illustrates that the design of local school policies is a key mechanism for encouraging parent participation. Parents who encountered structures that discouraged their school participation, tended to redirect their energies to home-based monitoring and involvement, while parents who had a child with an IEP experienced inclusive structures that reinforced their participation and sense of efficacy in the school context. For these parents federal mandates translated into more inclusive local school policies. The power afforded to parents through the IEP process supported their ability to "customize" the educational experience of their child; a pattern commonly articulated in the literature among middle-class, white parents but rarely attributed to low-income, minority parents. Efficacious parents are more likely to critically evaluate school processes, seek out resources for their child, and challenge the school when they are dissatisfied with their child's educational experiences. Inequality in parental school participation by race and class is not inevitable; school structures support and exacerbate these inequalities, directly influencing parents' sense of efficacy and indirectly influencing the educational resources children gain access to within their schools.

CHAPTER 5

The Age of Belonging: The Intersection of Neighborhood Change and Child Development

Introduction

Scholars have long argued that neighborhoods are an important social context for children's development, and a converging body of research points to the detrimental effects of growing up in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, and suggests the benefits of growing up in more affluent communities (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1993; Ellen and Turner 1997; Jencks and Mayer 1990; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000; Sampson 2012; Sampson, Sharkey and Raudenbush 2008; Sharkey 2010; Wilson 1987). These findings have led to two policy approaches: efforts to revitalize high-poverty communities and efforts to provide low-income families with residential access to more affluent neighborhoods. Underpinning both approaches is the basic assumption that outcomes for poor youth will improve if they grow up in neighborhoods that are not marked by concentrated disadvantage (Briggs 1997; Rosenbaum 1994).

In recent years, however, research has increasingly emphasized that neighborhoods do not influence all young people in the same way, and neighborhood scholars have turned their attention to understanding this neighborhood effect heterogeneity (Harding et al. 2011; Sharkey and Faber 2014; Small and Feldman 2012). In particular, scholars have examined heterogeneity in the effects of moving to low-poverty neighborhoods by gender (Kling, Ludwig, and Katz 2005; Popkin, Leventhal, and Weismann 2010), and more recent work has also found heterogeneity by age

(Alvarado 2016; Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015; Galster and Santiago 2017). For example, analyses of the long-term effects of the Moving to Opportunity demonstration, an experimental housing mobility program, found positive and significant effects on college attendance and earnings, among other outcomes, for children (below age 13), but not for adolescents, whose families were assigned vouchers to move to low-poverty neighborhoods (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz, 2015). Although attention to the role of age and developmental stage in neighborhood effects is growing (Alvarado 2016; Anderson et al. 2014; Galster and Santiago 2017), our understanding of the social processes through which age interacts with neighborhood settings remains incomplete.

One proposed explanation for these age differences is that positive effects emerge for children who move at younger ages because they experience less exposure to concentrated disadvantage in their neighborhoods than those who move at older ages (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015; Crowder and South 2011; Wodtke et al. 2011). However, any appeal to exposure as the cause of variation in youth outcomes by age must also take into account the different developmental contexts into which children move. Scholars hypothesize that youth who have strong social ties to their communities are most likely to be affected by the neighborhoods in which they live (Sharkey and Faber 2014), however, the ways children engage with their social contexts change as they age (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Ellen and Turner 1997; Sampson 2008). Therefore, the social interactions youth experience in their neighborhoods may vary across developmental stages in ways consequential for youth outcomes (Aber et al. 1997; Anderson et al. 2014; Bronfenbrenner 1979). However, research comparing the social interactions of youth across a range of ages, after moving to improved neighborhood contexts, remains limited.

This chapter examines the social mechanisms that drive differences in neighborhood effects by age through analysis of qualitative interviews with low-income, Black youth who moved with a housing mobility program in Baltimore, Maryland. This program employs a mobility-based policy approach to addressing concentrated poverty by providing low-income families with residential access to more affluent and less racially segregated neighborhoods. Based on interviews with youth between the ages of 9 and 20, this study compares the experiences of youth who moved during middle childhood (before 8th grade) with those who moved during adolescence (8th to 12th grade).

The findings show that peer relationships play a large role in children's adjustment to lower poverty and more racially diverse neighborhoods, and that local public schools are an important neighborhood institution for connecting youth to peers who live in their community. This chapter argues that the friendships youth form are a key mechanism of neighborhood effects. However, the process of forming new friendships varies between youth who move during middle childhood and those who move during adolescence. In this sample, adolescents hesitated to build new social ties after moving to lower-poverty neighborhoods, choosing a strategically cautious approach to spending time with new peers to determine who was worthy of their trust. In contrast, youth who moved during middle childhood did not exhibit the same hesitations, but instead formed new friendships quickly during a developmental stage when simple commonalities and shared activities are a sufficient basis for friendship (Gifford-Smith and Brownell 2003; Hartup and Stevens 1997). These peers amplify the influence of low-poverty neighborhoods and schools on children's outcomes by serving as a source of support for younger children's engagement and motivation in school after moving. As a

result, youth in middle childhood experience the dual advantages of less exposure to high-poverty neighborhoods before moving, and an easier process of establishing new friendships in their new suburban communities.

Literature Review

In recent years, neighborhood scholarship has shifted from evaluating whether neighborhoods have an independent effect on youth outcomes, to examining the heterogeneity of children's responses to neighborhood contexts (Harding et al. 2011; Sharkey and Faber 2014; Small and Feldman, 2010). Using an expanded model of neighborhood effects, research focuses on examining not only the neighborhood characteristics, and children's exposure to the neighborhood, but also the "social, economic, and cultural processes," or mechanisms, through which individuals are affected by their neighborhoods (Harding et al. 2011; see also Sharkey and Faber 2014). This approach invites a particular role for qualitative research to illuminate the mechanisms through which quantitatively measured neighborhood effects operate (Harding et al. 2011; Small and Feldman 2012).

One example of using multi-method research to examine neighborhood effect heterogeneity can be found in the analyses of gender differences in children's outcomes from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration. Quantitative studies found positive program effects for mental health and risky behavior for adolescent girls, but not for adolescent boys (Kling, Liebman, and Katz 2007; Kling, Ludwig, and Katz 2005; Orr et al. 2003). Qualitative studies examined the social processes underpinning these gender differences, illustrating how a reduction in "female fear" from gender-specific threats in neighborhood space can help explain the improvements in the mental health of adolescent

girls (Popkin, Leventhal, Weismann 2010). Additional qualitative research found that boys maintained more social ties to their old neighborhoods, faced greater police harassment (Briggs, Popkin, and Goering, 2010), and spent more time outside with peers in public spaces than girls (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2011). Recent analyses of the long-term effects of MTO found further heterogeneity in neighborhood effects by age. This chapter examines the social processes that can help explain this age variation in youth outcomes after moving to lower-poverty neighborhoods.

Age heterogeneity in the effects of MTO on youth outcomes emerged from an examination of the long-term effects of this program through an analysis of tax records (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). Although the MTO evaluations, at interim (4-7 years post move) and final (10-15 years post move), showed no significant educational effects (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2011), the results of this longer-term analysis evaluating youth outcomes as they enter their mid-twenties show positive and significant effects on outcomes such as college enrollment and earnings, but only for youth who were younger than 13 at the time of random assignment. In contrast, no significant effects were found for adolescents, ages 13 to 18, and many of the relationships were negative (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). This study reinvigorated the debate about how access to more affluent neighborhoods affects the life chances of low-income youth, and has sparked particular questions about the mechanisms that underpin the age differences in youth outcomes. What age-specific social processes help explain divergent outcomes as low-income youth experience new, low-poverty neighborhood and school contexts?

One of the main explanations provided for the age differences in the MTO findings is exposure, which emphasizes the role of the timing and duration of residence in

high-poverty neighborhoods. Based on research showing that neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage have negative effects on children's outcomes (Sharkey 2010; Sampson, Sharkey and Raudenbush 2008; Jencks and Mayer 1990), this explanation argues that younger children, who move at an earlier age, are more likely to show positive effects than their older counterparts because they spend less time in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015; Crowder and South 2011; Wodtke et al. 2011). Although exposure may be one key factor, it does not sufficiently explain the social processes driving the age variation neighborhood effects (Harding et al. 2011; Sharkey and Faber 2014). If youth who move to low-poverty neighborhoods during adolescence experience a qualitatively different social transition from that of younger children, then age differences in neighborhood effects on youth outcomes are due not only to exposure but also to social processes of adjustment. This would indicate that neighborhood effects stem from the combination of developmentally specific social processes and the length of children's exposure to low-poverty neighborhoods.

Ecological systems theory argues that children's engagement with their social contexts changes as they age (Aber et al. 1997; Bronfenbrenner 1979). During early childhood, family is the primary influence on children's development, but as youth grow older their neighborhood, school, and peer group grow in importance (Aber et al. 1997; Bronfenbrenner 1979; Berndt 1996; Ellen and Turner 1997). During childhood youth form friendships with peers on the basis of simple commonalities and through shared play and activities (Gifford-Smith and Brownell 2003; Hartup and Stevens, 1997). As youth enter adolescence these peer relationships grow more intimate and begin to play a

larger role in providing social support (Steinberg and Morris 2001). Given the importance of peer relationships, scholars have long argued that peers are one potential mechanism for neighborhood effects (Crane 1991; Ellen and Turner 1997; Jencks and Mayer 1990; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000).

For youth moving to new neighborhoods, residential and school mobility are disruptive processes that negatively affect children's academic outcomes (Voight, Shinn, and Nation 2012; Kain and O'Brien 1998), and the loss of social relationships after moving is one mechanism for these negative educational effects (Pribesh and Downey 1999; South and Haynie 2004). Peer ties are a mechanism for children's educational outcomes by influencing their engagement and motivation in school (Brown and Larson 2009; Bukowski, Brendgen, and Vitaro 2007; Connell, Spencer, and Aber 1994; Crosnoe, Cavanagh, Elder 2003; Marks 2000; Fredericks et al. 2004; Ryan, 2001). Students who move and change schools may lack peer relationships that serve the role of promoting school participation and other pro-social behaviors and attitudes (Drukker et al. 2009; Haynie, South, and Bose 2006). For youth, engagement in school is shaped, in part, by their sense of social inclusion and school belonging, and school desegregation research shows that low-income, students of color face challenges establishing new peer relationships in majority-white and more affluent schools (Carter, 2005; Holland 2012; Huidor and Cooper 2010; Wells and Crain 1997). Although all youth face an initial "cost" to school mobility, benefits may accrue for students who enroll and remain in higher-performing schools (Alexander, Entwistle, and Dauber 1996; Hanushek, Kain and Rivkin 2004). Nevertheless, if youth are unable to form new social ties, or face rejection

from peers, this can have significant consequences for children's outcomes (Gifford-Smith and Brownell 2003).

Based on the assumption that changing the geography of opportunity available to youth will improve their life chances, policymakers have turned to residential mobility as one tool for providing children with access to low-poverty neighborhoods and higher performing schools. However, recent findings complicate this narrative by illustrating that there is heterogeneity in the effects of moving to low-poverty neighborhoods based on the age at which children move (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). This chapter examines the social processes that drive these age differences in children's outcomes through an analysis of in-depth interviews with a sample of low-income, Black youth who moved to lower-poverty and more racially diverse neighborhoods with the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program. (See chapter two for a complete description of this program.)

Sample and Methods

The data for this chapter come from in-depth qualitative interviews conducted with a stratified random sample of 79 children from households that had moved with the BHMP as of 2012. The youth response rate for this study is just over 73 percent. The youth sample was stratified by gender and current age (8-14 vs. 15-19), and one child was selected from each of the sampled households to be interviewed in 2012. For 62 of these youth (78%), the BHMP move occurred before 8th grade, during middle childhood, while 17 youth (22%) moved after 8th grade, during adolescence. (For descriptive statistics on the qualitative sample see Chapter 2).

Interviews with parents and children were typically conducted at the same time,

by two different interviewers in separate rooms. A small number of older youth were interviewed at a separate time, after parental consent was provided during the adult interview. Youth interviews typically lasted between 45 minutes and two hours, and youth respondents were offered a $25 honorarium for participating. The youth interviews started with the question, "Tell me a little bit about yourself," to provide respondents with an open-ended opportunity to tell us about their interests and experiences. Following a semi-structured interview guide, interviewers elicited detailed narratives, asking broad and open-ended "how" questions, followed by probes specific to the details the youth provided, to gather rich, descriptive stories. Youth were asked to describe their entire residential and school trajectory and provide stories about their experiences in each neighborhood and school. They were asked to compare schools and neighborhoods before and after the BHMP move, and to describe how their friendships changed after this move. Youth also described the process of forming new friendships, and how they spend time with friends both inside and outside of school. Using a semi-structured interview guide researchers gathering consistent information across cases, while allowing for emergent themes.

This analysis draws on the full breadth of these narratives, while focusing on the transition into new communities and the process of forming new peer relationships. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and each interview was coded using MAXQDA, marking sub-codes within the broad coding themes of schools, neighborhoods, friends, and activities. In addition, the author wrote memos on emerging themes from each interview, and developed an additional set of focused codes based on this analysis. Additional coding helped illuminate the themes engaged in this chapter through coding

on focus areas related to friendship formation.

BHMP Neighborhood and School Change

For the children in this sample, moving with the BHMP generated a dramatic change in families' residential contexts. Before moving with the program families lived in high poverty and segregated Baltimore city neighborhoods, that were, on average, 30 percent poor and 78 percent Black. After moving with the BHMP, families' neighborhoods were eight percent poor and 23 percent Black (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2). After moving, youth also enrolled in lower-poverty, more racially diverse, and higher performing schools. Before the program, youth in the qualitative sample attended schools that were, on average, 91 percent Black, 77 percent of students qualified for free or reduced lunch, and only 53 percent of students met the proficiency standard on the state math assessment (see Table 2.8 in Chapter 2). After moving, youth in this sample attended schools that were 42 percent Black, 36 percent of students were eligible for free or reduced lunch, and 76 percent of students scored proficient or advanced on the state math assessment. Given these dramatic changes, this chapter examines how youth navigate the transition into these new social contexts.

Findings

Change in Social Context and the Disruption of Social Ties

For youth, the BHMP move generated a tradeoff between the disruption of their existing peer ties and access to safer neighborhoods and higher-performing schools. Given this social disruption, the primary concern expressed by youth of all ages was their ability to establish new friendships in their suburban communities. After moving in 6th grade, Taylor said that her suburban neighborhood was "safer." She told us, "You don't

hear nothing bad happening around here, but if you in the city people be fighting." Similarly, the neighborhood Max moved to in 8th grade was "quiet and I don't have to deal with the fussing and fighting, and waking up, and drug dealers." However, their new neighborhoods were quiet, in part, because fewer youth spent time outside in the suburbs, which made it challenging for youth to form new friendships. After moving in 6th grade Crystal said, "I can go outside here but there wouldn't be no one to play with or anything." Max told us that when you have friends, "you can get out more and just do more stuff that you couldn't do otherwise," but in his suburban neighborhood "most people don't come outside." With fewer opportunities to meet peers outside in their suburban neighborhoods, schools became a critical resource for forming friendships.

By moving from the city to the suburbs with the BHMP, children entered new school districts, and youth gained access to the institutional resource of higher-performing suburban public schools. At Steven's city school, before he moved in 5th grade, he said, "the teachers didn't teach very much…most of the kids was bad, like they would be bad, hit each other, fight." In stark contrast, his suburban elementary school "was like one of the best elementary schools I ever went to. There wasn't a lot of fights. I learned a lot. The teachers were nice, the classrooms wasn't too big." After moving to the suburbs in 9th grade, Sarah told us, "I like the schools better…in the city they just pass you to pass you. Out here you have to work for it." Although youth articulated positive school changes after moving, the disruption of their social ties stemming from the BHMP move continued to weigh heavily.

After moving in the middle of 4th grade, Nicole told us that she "felt kind of bad because…I really had good friends at [my city] school…I wouldn't be able to see those

friends again for a while. If we like run into them…I wouldn't actually be like, 'Hey, can I come over to your house today? Do you want to hang out?' Like, I can't do that because I live far away." Nya, who moved as an adolescent in 8th grade, felt similarly isolated from her friends in the city: "It actually came to me like 'Nya, you're going to be gone. You're not going to see nobody. What are you going to do? You're going to this new school…all of your best friends live in the city. What are you going to do?'" This was exacerbated by the lack of pre-existing social ties in their new neighborhoods. Michael said that when he moved in 3rd grade, "It didn't feel right. I usually stayed down in Baltimore. I didn't know anybody around here at first."

With little experience in majority white suburban neighborhoods, youth also expressed concerns about experiencing racism. This was most common among adolescents, who were more aware that they were moving across a highly racialized boundary line between the city and the suburbs. When Sarah moved in 9th grade, she told us, "I thought a lot of people was going to be racist out here for some reason, but it's not." She said this concern was "something a lot of people are scared about…people moving from the inner city to the county are worried that people are racists."[27] As Black youth entering majority white neighborhoods, adolescents' anxiety about fitting in was shaped in part by their concerns about experiencing racism.[28]

For youth of all ages the success of this move hinged on their ability to 'fit in' and establish new friendships. Sarah was hesitant to move in 9th grade: "I was like, 'Mom

[27] Since Baltimore city is a separate county, youth often use the word "county" to refer generally to suburban counties outside the city. Throughout the paper I use the term "suburbs" to make this distinction more clear.

[28] Notably, discussions of racism by youth in this sample focused almost exclusively on racism by individuals, such as Sarah's concern that "people are racists." Youth rarely articulated concerns about experiencing structural racism; although this certainly influenced children's experiences in these suburban communities, it was not part of their narratives.

why are we moving out to the county? I'm not going to fit in.'" Tory, who moved in 3rd grade, expressed similar concerns: "I thought that I wouldn't have any friends. I'm pretty sure that's what I was really worried about. 'Who am I going to talk to? Am I going to have any friends?'" Youth of all ages expressed concerns about forming new friendships, but the process of making friends varied based on the developmental stage during which youth made this residential move. In the sections that follow, this chapter examines how the process of establishing new friendships varied for youth who moved during middle childhood (before 8th grade) and adolescence (8th to 12th grades).

Middle Childhood: Establishing Friendships Based on Common Interests

Children in this study who moved during middle childhood, before 8th grade, entered their new suburban communities during a developmental stage when peers are a growing source of developmental influence (Aber et al. 1997), and shared interests and activities with peers serve as a sufficient basis for forming new friendships (Gifford-Smith and Brownell 2003; Hartup and Stevens 1997). Although the younger children in this sample expressed concerns about making new friends, both boys and girls who moved during middle childhood were able to quickly establish new social ties in their suburban communities.

Kevin moved to the suburbs just before 6th grade, and has lived in the same suburban neighborhood for just over three years. He quickly made friends after moving: "On the first day I met people on the bus. After a week I knew a couple of people and then I started hanging out with people outside of school." His new peers were quick to include him: "When I was new they were friendly. I was cool with everybody." Most of the people he met through school also lived nearby, and they could meet after school to

play sports. Although boys in this sample participated in organized activities more frequently than girls, youth in middle childhood typically established new friendships after moving with the BHMP through informal school and neighborhood interactions with peers, rather than through organized activities. For example, Kevin told us that in his new neighborhood: "People kept asking me to come outside, and I didn't really know them, to go play sports with them. That's what I did the first week, was play sports outside."

Through this residential move Kevin entered a strikingly different racial context. Compared to his city elementary school that was "mainly black," at his suburban middle school "there are a lot of white people, but then there's not because there's Indian and a bunch of mixed people. I would say mainly white people, but then it's not because there are all these different races and different religions." In this more diverse school, Kevin formed a group of same-sex but inter-racial friends: "I was friends with a bunch of white boys and a bunch of black boys." A common interest in sports provided the basis for their friendship, and now as high school freshmen these boys play basketball together on the school's JV team. Kevin's friendships crossed between his school and neighborhood contexts. By attending the neighborhood public school, these boys were able to build friendships that were strengthened by interactions across multiple settings (Cotterell 1996). Kevin told us, "We've been friends for four years…we stay together 24-7."

Kieondra's family initially moved with the BHMP when she was in 1st grade, but after two years her family made a second move to a new suburban neighborhood closer to her grandparents. Kieondra enrolled in a new school for 3rd grade, and this neighborhood public school was an international school. She described this school saying, "they got

flags in the hallways that represents where the kids are from. Some kids are from France, some kids are Europe, some kids, they're just all over the place." Although primarily friends with other students of color, "I'm friends with 10% Caucasian and some, and I'm friends with 50% mixed cultures, it's like Indians, and I'm friends with 50% Black;" Kieondra was proud of attending an international school and having diverse friends.

Still in middle childhood at the time of her family's second move with the BHMP, Kieondra was able to quickly form friendships at her new school.

> When I came to third grade the first day of school, when we had recess I don't know anybody…so I'm just going to sit down and whistle through the grass…I whistled through the grass and Cici was like 'Oh that's so cool,' and I said, 'Do I know you?' She said, 'No, but my name is Cici, I want to be your friend,' and we just started to talking…and Tia came skipping along, 'Hi my name is Tia'…and then they started playing cheers. I'm like, 'I used to be a cheerleader for a while in the other school,' and she said, 'Show me some cheers.' So I started cheering.

Kieondra's whistling and cheerleading skills helped her connect with these girls, and Cici and Tia were quick to offer their friendship and make Kieondra feel welcomed and included.

These two girls also lived in Kieondra's neighborhood: "Tia, she lives down the street and a couple of block from here, but Cici she lives across the street." They now regularly go to Kieondra's house after school: "They would have to walk with us because their mothers work and stuff. Tia would be the first one to go home, Cici she would usually, she'd stay the night a lot over my house." And they also hang out in the neighborhood: "We meet up with each other at the stores, sometimes we'll go to like a recreation center down the street." These girls spend a significant amount of time together at school, in the neighborhood, and at one another's houses. Now in 5th grade, they recently organized a party to celebrate their two-year "anniversary as friends." This

celebration reflected the close bond these girls established, and is a small illustration of how girls begin to incorporate greater emotional support in their peer relationships than boys (Giordano 2003; McNelles and Connolly 1999).

Among youth in this sample who moved during middle childhood, patterns of friendship formation look similar across gender, as both boys and girls quickly established new friendships based on shared interests and informal activities with peers in their suburban communities. Youth in this developmental stage formed primarily same-sex and same-race friendships. However, the diversity of their new neighborhoods and schools offered an opportunity to form inter-racial friendships, and this was more common among younger youth than adolescents. Their new friendships were frequently formed at their neighborhood public schools, resulting in frequent overlap between school and neighborhood friends that allowed youth to spend time with their new friends in multiple contexts.

Adolescence: Adopting a Strategically Cautious Approach to Forming Friendships

The low-income, Black youth in this sample who moved during adolescence, between 8th and 12th grades, more frequently adopted a slow and strategically cautious approach to engaging new peers after moving compared to younger youth. A number of factors amplified the social challenges of this residential move for adolescents. First, friends play a larger role in providing social support during adolescence, with greater self-disclosure, intimacy, and loyalty among friends (Cotterell, 1996; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Given that intimate and loyal friendships take time to develop, it was difficult to establish new social ties that could fulfill this social support role after moving. Second, adolescents exhibit a stronger tendency than younger youth for homophily in their social

ties, seeking out friends who share their background, attitudes, and characteristics (Brechwald and Prinstein 2011; Kandel 1978; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Aware that they were moving across a highly racialized boundary line between the city and the suburbs, these low-income, Black adolescents expressed uncertainty about whether they would encounter racism or find youth similar to themselves in majority white and more affluent suburban communities. Finally, the adolescents in this sample often brought with them strategies around friendship formation intended to mitigate the safety risks of high-poverty neighborhoods (Chan Tack & Small, 2017; Sharkey 2006). The combination of these developmental and contextual factors led adolescents to adopt a strategically cautious approach to forming new friendships.

Ashley moved to the suburbs in 10th grade, and has lived in her new neighborhood for nearly a year. She grew up in a low-rise housing project in Baltimore city, where her family lived for three generations: "My whole life, my mom's whole life, my grandma's whole life." She described this neighborhood saying there were "drug dealers and all the girls down there want to fight people for no reason," so when her mother received a voucher, Ashley was excited to move. Once in the suburbs, however, she was cautious about developing new peer social ties.

For Ashley, friendships were built on trust earned over time. She told us, "Mainly I am close to the people that I knew the longest." In the absence of established trust with her new suburban peers, Ashley adopted a strategically cautious approach to forming new friendships. "Out here I am really cool with people, and half-way on the path to becoming friends, but I just met you…basically, the longer I know you, the longer I know what you are about and you know what I am about, we will become friends…It takes a

while." Her cautiousness also influenced her decisions about when and where she spent time with peers. Ashley limited the time she spent with her suburban peers in public spaces to mitigate potential safety risks.

> This year I haven't really done a lot of things because I was like 'I just met you all and I don't really know if I am fully ready to go to a lot of different places with you guys.' It takes me a while to get comfortable with someone. Just for my safety. You never know how people act in public…basically everybody is somewhat different when they are out of school, and I was just like 'I don't know you guys.'

Ashley's cautiousness about accepting invitations to hang out with peers allowed her more time to evaluate their trustworthiness within the structured school context.

Ashley described her suburban high school as "very diverse…you know, African Americans, Caucasians, Asians, a little bit of everything, Mexicans…Spanish people I guess I should say. It's basically everybody." She told us that, "friend groups were also diverse, everybody basically hang out with everybody. It's not like anyone is really racist." Although she primarily formed friendships with other Black students, Ashley's suburban social group did reflect some of her school's diversity: "Of course you are going to sit with your friends, but at my lunch table it wasn't just African Americans, it was Caucasians and Ethiopians. It was very diverse." Ashley's first priority when forming new friendships was whether or not these friends would cause "drama."

She adopted a slow pace of friendship formation with her suburban peers as a strategy to ensure she remained "a drama free person," avoiding the risks of someone talking behind her back or picking a fight. She wanted to avoid placing her trust in the wrong person: "I'm not going to call you a friend and then have you do something crazy. I am not going to put myself in that predicament." While slowly connecting with a new group of girls at her suburban high school, Ashley continued to primarily rely on her city

peers as her closest friends: “Most often I hang out with my childhood friends from where I used to live.” Her mother, however, made a distinct effort to bring these friends out to their suburban neighborhood, “most of the time they come here,” rather than having Ashley return to the city.

Anthony moved to the suburbs as an adolescent in 9th grade, and similar to Ashley, he adopted a cautious approach to building new social ties in his suburban community. Describing his new suburban neighbors Anthony said, “Out here they so nice, like when you meet them it’s like you’re part of their family. They invite you in their house. They’ll feed you. I was like, man, I’m not wit none of that…I’ll just keep to myself.” In contrast, Anthony’s younger brother who moved in 3rd grade did not adopt the same caution. Anthony told us, “My little brother, every time he met a new person, they always go play in the house and play the games. I always tell him ‘Don’t go in people’s houses…you never know, people is crazy these days.’” Compared to Anthony, his younger brother’s less cautious approach allowed him to more quickly form neighborhood friendships. After two years in this neighborhood, Anthony’s family moved to a nearby neighborhood in the same suburban community, and Anthony continued attending the same school.

Anthony’s strategy of caution persisted with the peers he met through school. “I didn’t really like chill [with] people at first. I’d hang with them, but I wouldn’t hang, hang, like all day. I’d hang with them a couple of hours just to get to know them, see if they were real or fake.” He was cautious about spending time with peers in order to mitigate the potential risk of becoming friends with someone who would “talk behind your back,” and he chose not to play on the school basketball team because he said: “It’s

too much drama…it's like arguments all the time." For Anthony, it took over a year to parse out who could be trusted. "My 10th grade year I was still a little new but my 11th grade year, that's when I got to know everybody, like their true colors, who's real, who's fake, who is there for you. I learned a lot."

The challenge of determining whom he could trust as a friend was amplified by attending a majority white high school with notable racial segregation between friend groups. Anthony told us, "in town I never been around a white person at all. Then I came out here and met people; I was like this is weird. They talk different, dress different, look at you different." Peer groups at his school were also largely divided along racial lines: "During lunch there be this one table, like all the Black people, be another table all the crazy white people, another table the cool white people, and then Mexicans…I be like, that is crazy." While learning to navigate this new context Anthony returned to the city most weekends to spend time with his old neighborhood friends, and the friendships he formed in the suburbs were notably with three boys who also grew up in Baltimore city. "I mostly hang out with people that's from Baltimore…cause they understand me, like where I'm coming from and everything, a lot of different ways." This reflects the tendency towards homophily in friendship formation among adolescents (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001).

Compared with youth who moved during middle childhood, adolescents in this sample adopted a slower and more cautious approach to friendship formation in their suburban communities. Both adolescent boys and girls sought to mitigate risk and find trustworthy, loyal friends. While slowly establishing suburban friendships, they relied more heavily on friends from their old neighborhoods for social support than younger

youth. Even in their more diverse suburban settings, adolescents primarily formed homophilous same-sex and same-race friendships (McFarland et al. 2014; Moody 2001).[29] In contrast with adolescents' cautious approach, youth in middle childhood more quickly formed new friendships. In the next section, I examine how friendships formed by younger youth influenced their educational engagement and motivation in their new suburban schools, a pattern absent among adolescents.

Peer Ties as a Mechanism for School Engagement

In general, residential mobility negatively affects students' academic outcomes (Voight, Shinn, and Nation 2012; Kain and O'Brien 1998), and the disruption of social relationships is one mechanism for these negative effects (Pribesh and Downey 1999; South and Haynie 2004). Indeed, youth of all ages articulated the BHMP move as socially disruptive, but youth who moved during middle childhood were able to build new friendships in their suburban communities more quickly. These friendships were often formed through school and reinforced through shared neighborhood experiences, and living close enough to continue to hang out and play after school. These friends then served as an important source of support and motivation for children's engagement in their higher-performing suburban schools.

Kevin moved just before starting 6th grade, and quickly formed friendships with boys who lived in his suburban neighborhood and attended his school. As high school freshmen, these boys shared the goal of playing college basketball, and worked towards this goal collectively. When asked if they ever skipped class Kevin told us, "no. We try to

[29] Adolescents talked more about cross-sex friendships and dating relationships than younger youth. These cross-sex relationships may impact friendship formation and the maintenance of peer ties during adolescence (Cotterell 2007; Giordano 2003), but this study cannot fully explore these patterns due to inconsistent data on these relationships across cases.

get good grades." Doing well in school was a communal goal for these friends, and they served as a network of support for each other with both basketball and academics.

> Kevin: We all play different positions because we're all different sizes. Louis is little and quick so he helped me with my driving the ball skills. I probably helped him with jumping because he can jump high now and grab the rim...
> Interviewer: Do you help each other out in school too?
> Kevin: Yeah. We help each other. If someone is smarter in one subject and someone else is not, they will help each other with their homework.

For Kevin, this support from his friends and his own hard work was paying off; he told us "for my GPA I got a 3.6."

After moving to the suburbs in 4th grade, Derek showed a marked improvement in his grades; "I got honor roll for the first time." When asked what prompted this improvement he said:

> Derek: I don't know…I think it was a teacher. She made it easier for me.
> Interviewer: Do you remember what she did?
> Derek: Wait, I think it was my friends. The people I hung around.
> Interviewer: And why did they make it easier for you to do well in school?
> Derek: 'Cause like, they all did good in school, it would be awkward if I was just the one that didn't do good.

His first response acknowledged the importance of his teacher, but ultimately he attributed his academic improvement to his peers. Derek emphasized that he wanted to do well in school because his friends were also doing well, reflecting how the motivation to do well in school is influenced by students' social interactions (Cotterell, 2007).

John's family moved with the BHMP when he was in 3rd grade, and he became friends with boys at his neighborhood school bus stop by talking about football. Now in 7th grade, John told us: "Everyone's trying to pass…during tests we get motivated." His motivation comes from a game he and his friends created: "We make this thing called

Fantasy Football. Every time we do a test…if you got straight all questions right that would be a Super Bowl…If you're the highest you get the Super Bowl…so that sort of motivated us because it was fun too." John benefited both from a more rigorous school context and from friends who kept him engaged and motivated at school.

Amber moved to the suburbs in 7th grade and quickly became friends at school with girls who also lived in her neighborhood. When asked what they do after school Amber told us, "they come to my house and sometimes I go to their house and then we do our homework. Like sometimes we'll have the same homework, but like they can help me with my homework and I can help them with their homework and then after that we get on the computer or listen to some music." Amber's friends provided direct support with her homework, and they motivated each other to complete their assignments by working together.

Notably, Amber's mother advised her to be careful when forming new friendships. Amber recounted her mother's advice saying, "You really don't need friends just as long as you do your work, and like, it's good to have a couple of friends, but like, they, some of them, can distract you from your work." This advice from Amber's mother correctly indicates that some friends could be a source of influence for delinquent behaviors (Haynie and Osgood 2005). However, forming few friendships in order reduce the risk of negative peer influence, simultaneously reduces the potential for positive peer influence. Maximizing the potential for positive peer influence will come from encouraging children to form friendships with high-performing peers who will support

and encourage their school engagement (Crosnoe, Cavanagh, and Elder 2003; Ryan 2000).[30]

The low-income, Black youth who moved with the BHMP during middle childhood quickly established friendships with their new suburban peers. These friends then served as a source of support for their academic motivation and school engagement in their higher-performing and more rigorous suburban school contexts. In contrast, the cautious strategy adolescents adopted reduced their access to this type of positive peer influence by limiting the friendships they formed in their suburban communities.

Discussion

By examining the intersection how youth in two different stages of child development navigate residential mobility with the BHMP, this chapter finds that the social process of friendship formation serves as an important mechanism for age differences in neighborhood effects. The youth in this sample who moved with the BHMP during middle childhood not only experienced less exposure to high-poverty neighborhoods, but also established friendships more easily in their new suburban communities. In contrast, adolescents experienced more exposure to high-poverty neighborhoods and adopted a strategically cautious approach to engaging with new peers after moving. As a result, youth who moved during middle childhood became more socially connected to their suburban communities, and the friendships they formed amplified the potential for positive educational effects from this residential move because their friends served as a source of support for their motivation and engagement in higher-performing suburban schools.

[30] This addresses the two processes that drive peer influence: selection and socialization (Ryan, 2000).

Adolescents in this sample adopted a slower and more cautious approach to forming new friendships in order to mitigate potential risks and evaluate who could be trusted as a friend. While slowly getting to know their suburban peers, older youth also more frequently relied on friends in the city as a source of social support. Adolescents' more cautious approach to establishing new friendships limited the peer ties they formed, and reduced the potential for peer influence in their new communities. The friendships they did form in the suburbs typically reflected the developmental pattern of greater homophily in peer ties during adolescence, as the primarily formed same-sex and same-race friendships (Brechwald and Prinstein 2011; Kandel 1978; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001).

Youth in middle childhood, who experienced less exposure to high-poverty neighborhoods before moving, rarely adopted strategies of caution and risk mitigation when forming new social ties. Instead, they more quickly establish new friendships based on shared interests. There were gender differences in the interests that connected youth to their peers, but once commonalities were established, the process of forming new friendships was similar for boys and girls. Youth in middle childhood primarily formed same-sex friendships, but did form some inter-racial friendships in their more diverse school and neighborhood settings.[31] Schools were an important site for connecting with peers, and the friendships formed at school frequently crossed into neighborhood space. This overlap is unique to mobility programs in which youth make a simultaneous residential and school change, and may be especially important for neighborhood effects

[31] Some research suggests that inter-racial friendships may be more fragile than same-race friendships (Hallinan 1982; Kao and Joyner 2004), but in the absence of sufficient longitudinal data to provide a more detailed analysis of friendship maintenance, examining the strength of these relationships over time is beyond the scope of the current paper.

because research indicates peer influence is stronger when friendships persist across multiple contexts (Cotterell 2007).

The friendships youth formed during middle childhood were the link that connected them to their new neighborhoods and schools, and opened them up to the normative influence of their suburban peers (Brown et al. 2008; Cotterell 1996). After moving to low-poverty suburban neighborhoods, these younger youth benefitted both from accessing the institutional resources of high-performing schools and from forming friendships with peers who encouraged their engagement with these schools. Thus, peer ties amplified the potential for younger youth to experience positive educational effects from the BHMP move, as research clearly links students' motivation and engagement in school with their academic outcomes (Connell, Spencer, & Aber 1994; Marks 2000; Fredericks et al. 2004; Alexander, Entwisle, & Dauber 1993; Alexander, Entwisle, & Horsey 1997).

Furthermore, engagement and motivation also reflect non-cognitive skills, which research positively links to outcomes in adulthood, such as employment and earnings (Cunha et al. 2006). Non-cognitive skills continue to be malleable into adolescence (Cunha and Heckman 2007; Cunha et al. 2006), and research shows that peer relationships are one important site for the acquisition of social skills (Gifford-Smith and Brownell 2003). [32] The slower pace of friendship formation among adolescents in this sample limited the potential for these older youth to experience both short-term peer support for their academic engagement, and the long-term potential effects from peer influence on the development of skills such as motivation and self-discipline. Thus, I

[32] Although interventions can have positive effects into adolescence, they do become more costly as children age (Cunha and Heckman 2007).

argue that process of friendship formation is one important mechanism for age differences in the effects of moving to lower poverty neighborhoods.

One possible interpretation of these findings is that housing policymakers should focus on providing residential mobility opportunities to families with young children. However, I argue that our responsibility to invest in youth continues into adolescence. Adolescence is an important stage of development, and providing older youth with access to lower-poverty and safer neighborhoods has the potential to be beneficial for these youth (Harding 2009). What this study suggests is that the non-significant effects on outcomes for older youth may stem from a lack of social integration in their new communities. Indeed, research shows it can be challenging for adolescents to become socially integrated after moving (South and Haynie 2004). Therefore, I argue that the primary takeaway from these findings is the need for a more holistic counseling approach when families receive their voucher, to provide parents with information about resources for promoting their children's social integration into their suburban communities after they move.

Limitations

This chapter's focus on a single residential mobility program in Baltimore limits the generalizability of these findings. Among the five cities in the Moving to Opportunity demonstration, Baltimore and Chicago had the highest levels of violence and concentrated-disadvantage (Burdick-Will et al. 2011). Recent evidence from the 100 largest counties in the United States also finds that the Baltimore City is one of the worst counties in the country for children's economic mobility, with a significant negative effect on children's earnings in adulthood (Chetty and Hendren 2015). Youth moving

with the BHMP are thus leaving a context of extreme disadvantage, which may result in amplified positive effects on children's outcomes, but may also make it more challenging for youth to adjust to different social contexts after moving. These processes may operate differently in contexts with lower levels of neighborhood violence and less racial and socioeconomic segregation.

Further research should also examine whether youth from other racial and ethnic backgrounds have different experiences with this type of residential mobility. This sample of youth was entirely Black, so comparisons across race and ethnicity were not possible. Although this study includes youth across a range of ages, it draws on a relatively small sample of 17 adolescents. The generalizability of the processes observed among these older youth may therefore be limited, and further research should explore how the developmental patterns observed in this sample are reflected in larger samples of adolescents in different contexts. Despite these limitations, the age variation that does exist within this sample provided an opportunity to begin to examine the social processes that drive age differences in how low-income Black youth are affected by moving to more affluent and racially diverse communities.

Conclusion

This chapter expands the conversation about heterogeneity in neighborhood effects by arguing that friendship formation is one important mechanism underpinning age differences in the impact of low-poverty neighborhoods on children's outcomes. Comparing youth who moved during middle childhood and adolescence, the findings show that youth in middle childhood more quickly formed friendships in their new suburban communities. These friends then supported children's academic motivation and

engagement in their higher-performing suburban schools. Complementing the exposure explanation for age differences in neighborhood effects, younger youth access the dual benefits of an easier process of social integration and more exposure to affluent neighborhoods at an early stage of their growth and development. In comparison, adolescents face the dual disadvantages of a less exposure to low-poverty communities and a more difficult time establishing peer ties. The social process of friendship formation thus operates in combination with exposure to new neighborhood contexts to influence how children are affected by their low-poverty, suburban neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

A long history of segregation in the metropolitan region of Baltimore, Maryland was exacerbated by discriminatory practices in the siting of public housing in predominantly poor and minority neighborhoods by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. In 1995 a class of plaintiffs filed suit, and the Court found that by failing to consider regional approaches to public housing, HUD violated the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program was designed as part of the remedy to address this violation and the role of the federal government in perpetuating Baltimore's long history of residential segregation. It is within this backdrop that families began moving with the BHMP in 2003, receiving housing vouchers designed to facilitate their access to lower poverty and less racially segregated neighborhoods across the Baltimore metropolitan region.

The BHMP is remarkably successful in its efforts to provide families with access to lower poverty and more racially integrated neighborhoods. Although designed solely as a housing program, by assisting families with residential moves into suburban counties in the metropolitan region the BHMP also provides families with access to higher performing suburban schools. Scholarship shows that middle-class families leverage residential choice as a form of school choice (Holme 2000; Lareau 2012; Saporito and Lareau 1999), and the BHMP affords low-income families with the opportunity to make the same kind of choice. And for many of the low-income, Black parents in this sample,

participating in the BHMP was an explicit parenting strategy to access better educational opportunities for their children.

Although these residential moves can provide access to educational opportunities, they are also highly disruptive as families change homes, neighborhoods, and often schools. The findings in chapter three provide a clear illustration of the disruption caused by the BHMP through an examination of children's achievement test scores, which show a dip in students' math scores in the first year after moving. However, this drop does not remain significant for long, as children's scores improve over time, and students' scores show a significant positive improvement about five years after moving with the program. These analyses also suggest that the initial negative effect of the BHMP move would likely be worse if students did not enroll in higher performing schools on average. Even in the absence of any explicit educational intervention, this program produces dividends in children's educational achievement over time. Analysis of the qualitative interviews with parents and children illustrates how families navigate this disruptive move, and adjust to their new contexts.

The findings in chapters four and five show that for this sample of low-income, Black families, moving with the BHMP into more affluent and racially diverse communities created tradeoffs for both parents and children. For children the notable tradeoff was between gaining access to safer neighborhoods and more challenging schools while facing a large disruption to their friendships, as they move far away from their existing peer social networks. Among parents, one of the biggest tradeoffs articulated by this sample was between enrolling their children in higher quality schools,

and facing more restrictive school policies in the suburbs about parents' participation in school.

Just as this sample of low-income, Black families moved into more resource-rich suburban school districts, parents faced new obstacles to their school participation that limited their ability to activate school resources for their children. Parents experienced moments of unanticipated exclusion from their new school contexts, as suburban schools often rejected and de-legitimized common forms of school-based participation accepted in city schools. These barriers reduced parents' physical presence at their children's schools and limited their sense of efficacy in the school context. The social reproduction of inequality in schools is perpetuated, in part, through school policies that shape parents' school participation. School structures support and exacerbate differences by race and class in parent participation, by influencing parents' sense of efficacy and their ability to activate school resources for their child. As a housing policy, the BHMP certainly affords low-income, Black families with an opportunity to access better educational opportunities for their children, but it is education policy that must address the exclusion parents experienced in suburban schools.

For the youth in this sample, across all ages their biggest concern when moving with the BHMP was whether or not they would be able to form new friendships in their new neighborhoods and schools because of the disruption this move caused to their existing social networks. However, after moving clear age differences emerged in how youth navigated the process of forming new friendships. By examining the intersection between child development and residential mobility, chapter five finds that youth who move during middle childhood more quickly formed friendships in their new suburban

communities than older youth who moved during adolescence. For children who move at younger ages, their new friends become source of support for children's academic motivation and engagement in their higher-performing suburban schools. Adolescents' more cautious approach to establishing new friendships limited the peer ties they formed, and reduced the potential for peer influence in their new communities. This suggests that the social process of friendship formation serves as an important mechanism for age differences in neighborhood effects.

Many of our current school and housing policies are based on the assumption that children's outcomes will improve if they access neighborhoods and schools that are not marked by segregation and concentrated disadvantage (Briggs 1997; Rosenbaum 1994), but this dissertation indicates that the process of positive change following this kind of residential and school transition is a slow one, made more complicated by the social challenges and tradeoffs children and parents face as they navigate these new contexts. These findings then provide several policy implications, for both housing and school policy.

Policy Implications

Research on the patterns of residential mobility among low-income families typically illustrates that these families struggle to access non-poor neighborhoods, and often have repeated residence in poor and segregated neighborhoods (Sampson 2012; Sharkey 2012). Even among the over two million low-income households participating in the Housing Choice Voucher program (HCV), who receive a voucher to subsidize their rent cost, families largely continue to reside in poor and segregated neighborhoods with low performing schools (Horn, Ellen, Schwartz 2014; McClure 2008). This indicates that

there are several key elements to the design of the BHMP that help facilitate dramatic improvements in families' neighborhoods and schools (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2017).

First, the BHMP provides one-on-one counseling and group workshops that give participants information about neighborhood and school options. The program is also regionally administered across multiple counties, and uses a higher rent payment standard (120% of fair market rent). In combination, these design elements make more affluent neighborhoods accessible and affordable. Finally, the program also conducts significant landlord outreach, building relationships with landlords in more affluent neighborhoods to facilitate rental options for program participants. Although potentially expensive to incorporate all of these design elements into the traditional HCV program, there are several that could be prioritized to begin to provide families with more information and access to residential opportunities as they use their subsidy.

First, the regional administration and higher rent payment standard of the BHMP are key elements of this program. The use of a subsidy from the HCV program is typically restricted to the jurisdiction of the Public Housing Authority granting the voucher. Given the considerable inequality between school districts, residential mobility creates educational opportunity by allowing families to move across these boundaries. Working to reduce the bureaucratic hurdles that limit families' abilities to port their vouchers between different jurisdictions is a first step to providing low-income families with access to more affluent and less segregated neighborhoods and school districts (DeLuca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2013). This might do little, however, if these units remain unaffordable. One option is to use a higher rent payment standard, such as 120% of the fair market rent. Another option that may work in certain residential contexts is to

calculate the fair market rent based on smaller geographical areas to more accurately set the baseline fair market rent value in more affluent neighborhoods. HUD is currently implementing small area fair market rent calculations in some cities, and that will hopefully illuminate in the coming years whether this is an effective policy tool for making more affluent neighborhoods affordable and accessible to HCV participants.

The one-on-one counseling and group workshops, which provide families with information about their residential options, are another key element of the BHMP (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2017). Although implementing counseling of this type in the HCV program more generally would certainly be expensive, and may require new staffing and infrastructure, there may be some intermediate methods for addressing the information barriers facing participants. For example, providing voucher recipients with up-to-date lists of rental properties in lower-poverty and less segregated neighborhoods where landlords will accept the HCV subsidy (Deluca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2013). A list of units will certainly not provide the same level of support for families' residential mobility as counseling services, but it can begin to reduce some of the information barriers about more affluent neighborhoods. Research shows that listings and information about available units where the landlord will accept a voucher can be influential in voucher holders' housing search process (Rosen 2014). Further research is needed to examine whether targeted adjustments to the HCV program are sufficient to support families' access to improved neighborhood contexts when renting with the voucher.

As a housing policy, the BHMP provided the low-income, African American parents in this sample with an opportunity to use residential mobility as a form of school choice. However, after moving to new neighborhoods and enrolling in new schools, the

policies and practices of these local public schools also played an important role in shaping families' experiences. One of the most notable implications of moving to the suburbs was the unexpected tradeoff that many of the low-income, Black parents' in this sample experienced between enrolling their children in higher performing schools and facing more restrictive school policies around parent participation. This finding is particularly notable in the broader context of an emphasis on parent involvement in federal education policies (Borenstein 2012; Pomerantz, Moorman, Litwack 2007; Gartin and Murdick 2005). The findings in chapter four illustrate that federal mandates can induce schools to create policies on a local level that are more inclusive of parents, as was the case for parents of children with IEPs in this sample. However, schools did not employ these policies universally. Given research that indicates school-based participation is often a key method of accessing resources (Lareau 2000; Lewis-McCoy 2014), schools should more actively find ways to involve parents who demonstrate a desire to participate. To address the reproduction of inequality within suburban schools, policies that seek to actively incorporate low-income parents and parents of color are especially important.

The findings from this dissertation about how children navigate the social transition into their new communities after moving with the BHMP also suggest several policy implications. The quantitative findings, which indicate that it takes about five years for students to demonstrate a positive and significant improvement in their academic achievement, indicate that the BHMP may most effectively support the educational outcomes of children who move at younger ages. This fits with recent research on the long-term effects of MTO, which finds that positive and significant

effects appear only for those youth who were younger than the age of 13 at the time of voucher receipt (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015). The qualitative findings also illustrate that children in this sample who moved at younger ages had an easier social transition into their new communities, more quickly establishing new friendships that enhanced their engagement in their new schools. This confluence of evidence certainly supports the policy recommendation of focusing on residential mobility for families with young children.

However, the qualitative findings on adolescents' experiences navigating this social transition indicate that the non-significant effects on outcomes for older youth may stem, in part, from a lack of social integration in their new communities. Given that adolescence is an important stage of development, and providing older youth with access to lower-poverty and safer neighborhoods has the potential to be beneficial for these youth (Harding 2009), I argue that we should not limit residential mobility to families with young children. Instead, I propose that the existing counseling processes in place in the BHMP may be enhanced by including information about the resources and institutions available in suburban communities that may help children of all ages connect with peers in their new communities, such as community centers, library activities, and other programming for youth. Providing parents with resources to find affordable ways to help their children establish new social networks in their neighborhoods and schools may go a long way to alleviating the social tradeoff youth must navigate after moving. Although perhaps most important for adolescents, these resources could certainly benefit children of all ages.

Directions for Future Research

This study has focused on a single housing mobility program in Baltimore, Maryland. In doing so, I have been able to examine both the process of moving to lower poverty and more racially diverse neighborhoods for a sample of low-income, Black families, and its effects on students' academic achievement. However, due to the focus of these analyses on one program in a single metropolitan area, I have been unable to examine whether the social processes observed among the families in this sample also occur in other programs, other residential contexts, and for families from other racial and ethnic groups.

Although the findings of this study should not be broadly generalized beyond the sample of families participating in the BHMP, the families in this program are part of a much broader social phenomenon – growing racial and socioeconomic diversity in America's suburban neighborhoods and schools (Aud, Fox, and KewalRamani 2010; Fry n.d.; Frankenberg & Orfield 2012; Kneebone and Berube 2013). Thus, these findings offer some areas for further research that can examine the experiences of the broader group of low-income and minority households that are moving to suburban neighborhoods and enrolling in suburban schools.

As of 2010, more than one-third of the nation's elementary and secondary public school students attended suburban schools, demanding that increased focus be placed on the changing racial compositions that are affecting a majority of the student population (Aud et al., 2013; Orfield, 2009). In this era of growing suburban diversity, this study highlights that there are both benefits and challenges to residential mobility from urban to suburban communities for low-income, Black families. Although housing policy can be

designed to help low-income families access more affluent school districts, it is education policies that shape families' experiences in these new school contexts. For suburban districts adapting to an increasingly diverse student population, it is critical to design policies in areas such as parent participation, and the allocation of resources to students (such as course tracking) that will reduce the social reproduction of inequality. School-based data collection efforts will be critical to fully illuminating some of the processes articulated in this dissertation from the point of view of parents and students. Future research should examine how schools with a growing number of low-income students, and students of color, are designing programming and policies to address the needs of their changing student body.

Additionally, research should examine how families sort into neighborhoods and schools across metropolitan areas with different patterns of racial and economic segregation, and different levels of school district fragmentation. As the suburban student population becomes increasingly diverse, inequality between suburban schools is also growing (Frankenberg and Orfield 2012; Reardon and Yun, 2001). Housing mobility programs provide low-income families with access to suburban neighborhoods, but it may become increasingly important to evaluate differences between suburban schools in order to access the highest quality schools when moving into the suburbs. Research has shown that patterns of racial inequality in educational opportunities can persist even among families who move into suburban districts in the context of expanding suburban inequality (Rhodes and Warkentien 2017). It is therefore increasingly important to understand the specific patterns of residential and educational inequality across different metropolitan areas, for it is unlikely that a one-size-fits all approach to housing and

school policy can effectively reducing persistent forms of inequality across different contexts.

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Appendix

Adult Interview Guide

Introductory Script

My name is _____ and I am with Johns Hopkins University. Today we will be talking about your family, your children, your housing experiences, your neighborhood, your education and your work history. I'm interested in your whole life story, but we will talk mostly about places you've lived, houses and apartments you've rented around Baltimore.

I have some questions in mind, and I'm sure you will have some things you want to talk about too. So think of this as a conversation between friends, rather than an "interview." We will be as informal as possible. You can stop talking at any time. If I raise an issue or ask a question you don't want to talk about, just say so and we will move on to something else. No big deal.

I'm going to record our conversation because I don't want to take many notes during the interview. This way, I can really concentrate on what you have to say. If you want me to turn the tape off for any reason or at any time, just say so. No one will hear the tape except for the research team and the secretary who transcribes it. Then we erase the tape. We take out your name and any other identifying information from the transcript. In other words, no one will know who you are, but a lot of people will hear what you have to say, because we think it's important. Nothing you say can be traced back to you, nor will your participation affect any housing subsidy you may be receiving.

We ask people to choose a pseudonym, or a fake name, that we can use for your stories. We write this name on the tape and that way your real name isn't attached to any of this information. What name would you like to choose?

Is it okay if I turn on the tape recorder now? **[INTERVIEWER GET VERBAL CONSENT.]**

The tape recorder is now on. **[INTERVIEWER: MAKE THIS STATEMENT AFTER YOU HAVE TURNED ON THE TAPE RECORDER. STATE YOUR NAME, THE RESPONDENT'S PSEUDONYM, AND THE DATE.]**

Any questions?

OK, let's start.

Section 1: Warm-Up, Background, Family Roster & Family Dynamics

COMMON PHRASES AND INSTRUCTIONS:
*TMMAT= "Tell me more about that." Probe for narrative and details.
* Get whole story from start to finish = Get whole story, including who, what, where, when, and how it happened. What else was going on at the time? How did respondent feel? Was it typical/unusual--why?

1. Tell me the story of your life.
Additional Probes:

- Where did you grow up?
- What was your family like?
- Number of siblings? What were they like?
- Describe your parents.
- Places you lived?
- School experiences?
- Early jobs?

2. One thing we're really interested in is family and where they live. Ok, let's talk a little bit about everyone who lives here with you.
Additional Probes:

- In any given week, how often does each of these people stay here?

3. We know that sometimes people 'stay' with relatives for just a little while, here and there between places. Tell me about any family members who have stayed with you? Tell me about a time you 'stayed' with a family member.
Additional Probes:

- How long do other people stay in the house?
- How is space in the unit divided?
    - Do kids have their own rooms?
    - Where do kids sleep?
- Is there anywhere in the house to be alone?
- Who else do the kids stay with?

4. Sometimes parents tell us that they rely on others for help taking care of their kids. How about you?
Additional Probes:

- What do you like/dislike about this arrangement?
- What is the cost?
- Who is the primary caregiver in these arrangements?

- Do you ever care for other people's children?
- How does this care arrangement help you?
- Do the kids like it?
- Where does that take place?

5. During the past school year, did any of your children stay overnight at other houses? How did that arrangement develop? What do the kids like or dislike about it? How long do they stay with others?

Additional Probes:

- Who else do the kids live with?
- How does that help you?
- How does this arrangement change over the summer?
- What do you like/dislike about this arrangement?

Section 2: BHMP, Residential Mobility and Neighborhoods

Baseline Unit = Last house before BHMP move
Reference Unit = First house after BHMP move

1. Some people tell us there is a place (or home) in their family that they can always go back to, to stay, or where people gather. How about for you?

Additional Probes:

- Who owns unit? Is it rented or owned by family?
- Who lives there now?
- Where is it?
- Has it changed locations over time?
- Do you think it will always stay in the family?
- Have you had a reason to stay there? Or visit?

2. Starting with the first house/apartment you got on your own as an adult, we want you to tell us where it was, how you ended up living there and who was with you. [REPEAT FOR EACH NEW PLACE, EACH QUESTION ONE AT A TIME] after first move:

Additional Probes:

- Tell us the whole story.
- Who is the leaseholder?
- Was it a move you wanted to make?
- What was the housing unit quality?
- What was the reason you left? (family conflict? Landlord?)

3. Let's go back and talk about the [BASELINE ADDRESS] unit you were in before you got the voucher. Tell us about how you decided where to move. TMMAT

4. What did you like about the unit? What things did you not like? [Baseline unit]

Additional Probes:

- Describe the unit's bedrooms, basement, storage, kitchen, backyard, overall quality.
- Describe how this unit is located in regards to your friends, family, job commute, schools, childcare.

5. Tell us about neighborhood around that unit. What did you like about it? Were there any things you did not like?

Additional Probes:

- Describe neighborhood safety, neighbors, neighborhood amenities, the neighborhood environment for your children.

6. How did you find out about available houses or apartments?

Probe:

Realtors—specific name of realtor or company… Who? How did they select the units to show you? Did they charge? How specific were you about what you were looking for? What did you tell him/her?	
Friends/family recommendation Who? Why? Do they live there?	Drove around/looked at specific neighborhoods. Which? Why? How did you learn about neighborhood?
Newspaper; Internet Search/Craigs list… Which? How?	Landlord connections- TMMAT

7. How many other units did you look at? Tell me about each one you can remember and why you didn't end up leasing it?

Probe:

Assumed it wouldn't be eligible (see above)	Type of unit/size/yard/etc.
Condition of housing	Location (incl. transportation, isolation)
Neighborhood safety	Neighbors
Landlord?	

8. Obviously, your most recent (a recent) move happened because you participated in the BHMP. We're really interested in everything you've experienced as part of the program.

9. Tell us what made you sign up for the program. How did you learn about it?

10. Tell us about the counselors you worked with at BHMP. What did they do to help you prepare for moving?

11. Before you got your voucher, what steps did you have to take to get ready to move?

Probe:

Financial counseling/credit score	Mental/physical health referrals
Educational counseling	Security deposit
Transportation	Debt with housing authority
Interactions with counselors	

12. How did you find out about available houses or apartments?

Probe:

Counselor recommended unit/area. MBQ list… What did the counselor recommend about these units? Why did he suggest them? How specific were you about what you were looking for? What did you tell him/her?	Realtors… Who? How did they select the units to show you? Did they charge? How specific were you about what you were looking for? What did you tell him/her?
Friends/family recommendation… Who? Why? Do they live there?	Drove around/looked at specific neighborhoods. Which? Why? How did you learn about neighborhood?
Newspaper; Internet Search/Craig's list… Which? How?	Landlord connections… TMMAT

13. Tell us about how you decided where to move with the program. TMMAT

Probe:

Unit: Bedrooms, Basement, Storage, Kitchen, Backyard, Overall quality
Neighborhood: Safety, neighbors, amenities, child environment
Location: Near friends/family; commute; near job; schools

Question intent: tradeoff between unit qualities vs. neighborhood vs. spatial location (e.g. proximity). Let them lead by talking about what's important to them unit or neighborhood).

14. Tell us about the first unit you leased through the program [Reference Unit]. What did you like about the unit? What things did you not like?

Probe:

Repeat previous unit probes if necessary

15. Tell us about the first neighborhood you moved to in the MBQ program. What did you like about it? What did you not like about the area?

Probe:

Repeat previous neighborhood probes if necessary

16. Tell me about a time when you tried to rent any apartments or houses and not get them. What did you like about the unit (see above)? What happened? TMMAT.

Probe:

Didn't accept voucher	Competition for units in development
Credit check	Number of kids
Not within MBQ rent levels	Not in an eligible MBQ neighborhood
Previous criminal background check	Failed inspection

17. How many other units did you look at? Tell me about each one you can remember and why you didn't end up leasing it?

Probe:

Assumed it wouldn't be eligible (see above)	Type of unit/size/yard/etc.
Condition of housing	Location (incl. transportation, isolation)
Neighborhood safety	Neighbors
Landlord?	

18. Some people are saying they limited their search to particular neighborhoods or areas? How about for you?

19. Which neighborhoods or areas were you considering? What was attractive to you about these neighborhoods? TMMAT.

20. Which neighborhoods or areas were you avoiding? What aspects of those neighborhoods did you not like? TMMAT.

21. If you had to do it over again, would you have chosen this unit? Tell me what you wish you had known about this house or neighborhood before you moved in.

22. Overall, how was the move process with MBQ different from other moves you've had in the past?

23. We also want to know how landlords help and harm the process. Tell us about your experience with landlords when you were first looking at units.

Probe:

Discrimination	Credit checks?
Counselor helped?	Good/bad experiences

24. Who moved with you into that first place after you signed up?

Probe:

Change in who got a room?	New household members added?
Sleeping arrangements change?	Who got left behind? TMMAT

25. Tell us about any changes in your daily routines that came about because of the move.

Probe:

Shopping?	Commuting to work?
Kids' school commute?	Family time? (more or less now?)

26. In particular, we're really interested in whether you were able to visit family and friends in the old neighborhood.

Probe:

Who do you visit?	Who visits you?
Resource network changed?	

27. How have prior relationships with family and friends changed (since MBQ move)?

28. How about your kids—do they visit the old neighborhood? How often? What do they do there (who do they see)?

29. What do *you* go back to the city for?

30. What things you do *here* in your new neighborhood that you couldn't do in the city?

Probe:

Entertainment (on weekend/evenings) Social Events Cookouts	Personal care (hair/nails)
Shopping: clothes, food, other personal items	Clarify things that did in the city now do here vs. things that never did in the city, but now do here vs. things given up since move

31. Some people say their love life gets better in the County (or in new MBQ voucher destination). Others say it's gotten worse. What has your experience been?

32. Tell us about any groups or organizations you belong to. How did you get involved?

Probe:

Parent Teachers Association	Neighborhood Associations
Church	Athletic Clubs
Political/Advocacy Groups	

IF RESPONDENT HAS MOVED TO A NEW HOUSE OR APARTMENT RECENTLY SINCE MBQ MOVE; OTHERWISE SKIP TO NEXT SECTION:

33. What made you leave the first place you lived with MBQ? TMMAT.

34. How did you find your new place? Was it easier or harder to find your new place (e.g.2nd MBQ move) compared to your first MBQ move?

35. What do you like most about this new apartment (or house)? TMMAT. Tell me about anything you want to change or don't like about the apartment/house. TMMAT.

Probe:

Problems with current unit	Positive aspects of current unit
Bedroom size	Amenities
Building	Neighborhood/location

36. What do you pay in rent (mortgage) for this house/unit? Tell me about any sources of assistance you receive for your rent (rental assistance, Section 8 voucher, utilities assistance)?

NOTE: IT'S POSSIBLE FOLKS ARE OFF SECTION 8 AT THIS POINT, SO WE WANT TO CLARIFY

37. How are things going with your new landlord (or the housing development manager)?

38. Who do you talk to if there is a problem with the unit? [Is this different than who you write the rent check to?]

39. How did your landlord/the management respond the last time you brought a problem to their attention?

Probe:

Get whole story, start to finish	**Currently receiving Section-8? How feel about inspections?**
Ask about Housing Authority if Applicable	

40. Have you taken any steps to leave this unit?

PICK UP HERE FOR BOTH RECENT AND NONRECENT MOVERS

41. If you were going to leave this apartment, where would you consider moving?

42. Where would you avoid moving to?

43. We really want to hear about any place you might think about moving to in the region. [PROVIDE LIST TO GUIDE DISCUSSION] Can you indicate, on this list, which places you would consider?

44. Over time, what's changed about how you think about places to live?

45. (IF NOT COVERED EARLIER)
Tell me about your neighborhood. What do you like best about living here? What do you like the least? TMMAT.

Probe:

Positive/negative	Details of recent interactions
Location: in building, next door…	Frequency of contact with neighbors

46. Tell us a little about the NEIGHBORHOOD you were in before this one. What did you like the best about that NEIGHBORHOOD? What didn't you like? How did it compare to this (current) neighborhood? What surprised you about this neighborhood?

Probe:

Positives/negatives	Amenities/Schools/Bus access
Safety	Neighbors

47. [IF APPLICABLE]. Wow, it sounds like this neighborhood is really different from your last one. How do you feel about this neighborhood? How do you fit in here? Are you comfortable here? TMMAT.

48. Often neighbors are cool with some things and not others. What's it like here?

Probe:

Hanging on Stoop	Music
Safety	Neighbors

49. Tell me about your neighbors.

Probe for each:

Neighbors you do talk to?	Borrow a cup of sugar?
Chat or visiting with?	Keep an eye on kids?

50. Tell me about problems you have with people around here? OR things that your neighbors do that you don't like?

51. Tell me about a specific time you had a problem with neighbors.

Probe:

Who was that?	Where do they live?
What's their race?	

52. Tell me how your neighbors/ people around here help you out? OR is there anything about your neighbors that you like?

53. Tell me about specific time a neighbor helped you out?

Probe:

Who was that?	Where do they live?
What's their race?	

54. Some people think their neighborhood is pretty safe, while others don't feel safe. How about for you since you moved here? TMMAT. Tell me anything that happened in the last year to you or your children that made you feel unsafe. TMMAT.

Probe:

Get whole story, start to finish	

55. Sometimes people have ways for staying safe in their neighborhood. Tell me how you stay safe around here? Have you always used these strategies?

Probe:

Strategies—successful? (guns, windows nailed down, bushed trimmed)	Differences day and night
How compare to other neighborhoods lived in?	Are drugs a problem in this NH? Changes since moved here?

56. Some parents tell us that there is a difference between a good neighborhood and a decent neighborhood. What's the difference?

57. If you could build a house in any neighborhood you want, where would you build it? TMMAT.

58. Some parents tell us it's not where you live, it's how you live. What does that mean?

59. Another thing we're interested in is how people get back forth from their homes to other places. Tell me how you get around.

Probe:

Do you have a car? Do you want one?	How would things be easier if you had a car?

60. Some people use the bus for shopping, to go to the doctor or take their kids to school. What sort of things do you use public transportation for? Are you able to get everything you need with it? Are you happy with the bus system here? How close is the nearest bus stop?

Probe:

Where take bus?	How much time does it take?
Are there places you wish you could go, but can't because of transportation?	Informal transportation? (hack, gypsy cab, etc).

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INTRO SCRIPT FOR THE RACE QUESTIONS:

We would like to ask about some topics we know are sensitive, dealing with race and neighborhoods. While we know it might be awkward for you to talk about these issues with us, the questions are really important. Folks are telling us all kinds of things, so we've heard it all—you won't offend us! —

1. How many black neighbors do you have? How about Latinos/Hispanic, Asians, and Whites?

2. How does that compare to your previous neighborhood? How many Blacks, Latinos, Asians and Whites were there?

3. What is it like to live around lots of black people (e.g. your earlier neighborhoods)?

4. What is it like to live with the racial mix here (in MBQ neighborhood—maybe described as mostly white)?

5. What were you worried about in terms of racial prejudice before moving out into a more white neighborhood? TTMAT

6. Tell me about an experience with prejudice?

Section 3: Children, Schooling, Fathers

1. Tell me a little about your children. Let's start with their names and ages. What are their personalities like (social, quiet, do they act out, play sports, like music)? What are they good at?

2. Tell me about how your kids spend their time over the summer? How did you and the kids decide what they would do this summer?

Probe:

Do they do any structured activities at church, the Y, camps, etc…?	Do they play outside at all? What types of things do they do outside? Bikes, swimming, sports?
Do they spend time in the house? What do they do in the house? Video games, facebook, computer games etc…	**If they are involved in formal activities ask** the following: How many days is this program? How many weeks will they attend? HOW MUCH DOES IT COST?
How did you find out about this program and why did you choose it? Does it cost money?	Where do they participate in these activities? (also get at city vs. county)

3. We know that some kids work, either in jobs like McDonald's or at side jobs doing baby-sitting or other things for a little money. Do any of your children work? Tell me about that.

Probe:

Job/employer	Hours
Earnings/ how spent	Location

How youth got this job	Vary school/summer, week/weekend

4. What are the rules and routines of your house?
Do any of these expectations change during the summer?

Probe:

Walk me through a day and tell me when the rules and routines apply to the things your kids normally do.	What led you to develop these specific rules and routines? Why are they important?
Can you tell me about a time when the child did not follow these expectations?	Areas of neighborhood/streets/places to avoid? Places that are allowed?
Example rules and routines in case respondent has trouble: curfew, where they can go, who they can hang with, what they do with their free time, chores at home.	Do you have different rules for different kids? Age? Gender?

5. Do you ever have problems with your children at home, like talking back or not listening? How do you usually handle that? Tell me about the last time. What happened?

Probe*:*

Get story, beginning to end	Specific behaviors
Frequency	Context of behavior- patterns
Parent's reaction/treatment	Do other kids do it?

6. How about other kinds of problems, like involving the police or juvenile courts – do kids around here get in that kind of trouble often? How about with your children? Tell me about the last time something happened, anything from being harassed to being arrested.

Probe*:*

Get story, beginning to end	Specific behaviors
Frequency	Context of behavior- patterns
Parent's reaction/treatment	Do other kids do it? Peer groups
Police response	Compare to old neighborhood

7. Drugs are everywhere, in every community, rich or poor. Kids can get sucked into the drug culture pretty easily. How about for your children? Tell me about your children's experiences with the drug element and pressure to participate in it.

[FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, SUBSTITUTE CHILD'S NAME FOR WHERE IT SAYS "CHILD"]

We want to hear about the schools your children have gone to, but we are just going to focus on two kids _____ & _____. As we said earlier, we had to flip a coin to be fair about which kids we talked about. Starting in first grade…

CHILD SCHOOL HISTORY

1. Tell me about each school your CHILD's went to (name and location). How did you feel about that school? What were the best and worst parts about that school? How did you decide to send CHILD to this school?

Probe:

Is this a zone school? What other schools were you considering?	What information were you using if you were making a choice? How did you get that information?
Did you have any choice in sending CHILD to that school? TMMAT.	Was your child ever retained a grade? If so at which school? How did you feel about this?
Did CHILD have any say in where they went to school?	

2. Sometimes people tell us they need to have their kids stay with another family member so they can attend a specific school. Has this CHILD ever done that? TMMAT.

***If child switched schools after the MBQ move*: When did CHILD switch to this school? Was it at the beginning of the year or in the middle of the year?**

***If child did not switch schools after the MBQ move*: So you said that you decided to keep your child in their old school instead of the one out here. What made you decide to do that? TMMAT.**

Probe: Did CHILD want to stay at the school in the old neighborhood?

COMPARISON OF PRE and POST MBQ MOVE SCHOOL

[ASK THESE QUESTIONS FOR ONE CHILD, THEN REPEAT FOR OTHER CHILD]

Wow your kids have attended several different schools. We would like to hear more about two of those schools in particular, the school they attended just BEFORE the MBQ move and the school they attended just AFTER you moved.

1. Tell me about the process of switching your child to the new school.

Probe:

Did you visit the school before the first day?	Paperwork
Have to go to the central office?	Help from MBQ?
How did the school decide which class to put your child in? How happy are you with the class they got put in?	Probe on ability grouping, and tracking, if it does not already come up.

2. How did she/he feel switching to this new school?

3. How was this transition an easier or harder school change for CHILD? How did it compare to the other times they have changed schools?

4. What was the best part of changing to this school? What was the worst part?

5. Some parents tell us that they visit their child's school a lot and others tell us that they very rarely go up to the school. How about for you? Tell me about the last time you visited CHILD's school? Why did you go? What was that experience like?

Tell us what your child's school expects from parents.

Probe:

PTA?	Volunteering?
Classroom visits?	

6. Tell us about your child's friends at school.

7. Tell me about CHILD's friends' parents—how well have you gotten to know any of them? What kinds of things do you talk about with other parents?

Do you all talk or share information about good teachers or bad teachers, homework or activities the kids do?

8. Tell me about the teachers at the school before the MBQ move. Tell me about the teachers at the school after you moved.

Probe:

How often they contacted you.	Teaching style
How your child liked them	What they contacted you about.
discipline	Teachers treated child differently

9. Some parents tell us that there were differences in how hard the work was and how much homework their children had to do and others say this did not change. How about for you?

Probe:

Did your child's grades change at all after switching schools.	

10. Tell me about CHILD's grades? What subjects are they good at which? Which subjects are harder for them?

Probe:

Does the current school provide support for CHILD in the subjects he/she needs help in?	

11. Was your child ever held back a grade? Promoted an extra grade? Tell me the whole story about the time(s) that happened.

Probe:

What school were they attending?	Who initiated this process?
What was the main reason for this retention?	How did you and CHILD feel about this?

12. Some parents have been mentioning that it seems like these days schools are really focused on testing. Tell me about your child's experience with testing.

13. Some parents tell us that their kids get some extra services at school, like tutoring or people helping them in class, how about for CHILD?

Probe:

What school were they attending when they first started receiving this extra help?	Who initiated this process?
What was the main reason for these services?	How did you and CHILD feel about this?

14. Some kids have different ways of learning, and may need extra help when they are in school. How about your children? (Do they have an IEP? Tell me about that process)

How does the school serve these needs or abilities? TMMAT. COMPARE BETWEEN PRE AND POST MOVE SCHOOL.

Probe:

Get story, start to finish	School support
Specific needs/ subjects	Teachers
Peers	

15. Some people we've talked to have had problems with their kids in school. How about with you? How about problem behaviors that led to detention, suspension or expulsion? Tell me about that.

Probe*:*

Get story, beginning to end	Specific behaviors
Frequency	Context of behavior- patterns
Parent's reaction/treatment	Do other kids do it?
School response	Compare to old school
Fighting?	

16. Tell us about any accomplishments or awards your children have received. What kinds of things does she/he get praised for in school?

17. Some parents have told us that there were big differences in the school's approach to discipline at the pre-MBQ school and post-MBQ school and others have said that the schools were pretty much the same. How about for you?

Probe:

Interact with teachers more?	More or less suspensions?

Child gets in trouble more often or less often?	Types of things they get kids in trouble for?
Frequency of phone calls.	Fairness of discipline policy?

18. A lot of parents have told us that the types of kids who went to school with their child before moving were different from the types of kids who went to the new school, some have told us that the kids are pretty much the same. How about for you?

Probe: *If the respondent does indicate differences:*

what types of things are the noticeable differences?	What is good and what is bad about these differences?

19. What is the racial composition like in this school? How does this compare to school CHILD attended before you moved with MBQ?

20. Some parents have told us that their kids have made friends with children of many different races and others say that most of their kids' friends are African American. How about for CHILD?

21. What are your expectations for CHILD's future education? What do you think he/she will be doing when he/she is 21? What sort of things might make that happen? What sort of things might stand in the way? (GO THROUGH EACH CHILD)

Probe:

HS grad, College plans?	Where will child be living?

Question Intent: How do parents perceive educational opportunity for children? What are steps needed to get there? What are barriers?

22. What things do you worry about for your CHILD? Are these general worries, or things in particular to one of your children?

Probe*:*

Specific concerns, including reason	General worries
Child's mood/ disposition	Recent changes
Behaviors	Frequency of concern behaviors

GO BACK TO BEGINNING OF PRE and POST MBQ COMPARISON AND REPEAT THE QUESTIONS FOR 2nd CHILD

IF THERE HAS BEEN MORE THAN ONE POST-MBQ SCHOOL FOR EITHER, OR BOTH, OF THE 2 FOCUS CHILDREN ASK:

1. Tell me about the other schools CHILD has attended since you moved with MBQ.

Probe:

Which was the best school they have attended since moving?	What were the things you like the best and the least about the schools they attended after the very first one after you moved with MBQ?
Which school did CHILD like best? Least?	MAKE SURE WE HAVE GOOD DESCRIPTIONS OF ALL POST MBQ SCHOOLS
MAKE SURE WE KNOW THE REASON THEY SWITCHED SCHOOLS – esp. if non-promotional change	If they switched because of a move we want to know if the schools were a factor in deciding where to move?
Harder or easier?	Teacher quality differences?
Racial composition differences?	

2. If you were recommending a school to a parent who just moved to the Baltimore area, what schools would you suggest they send their children to? Which schools would you tell them to avoid?

Probe:

Curricula	Extra-curricular programs
Class size	Teachers
Administrators	Location
Quality of instruction	Test scores/grades
Cost	Peers
Transportation	School-NH connection
Differences in city vs. county?	What makes a good school?

THE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE FOR ALL CHILDREN: FATHERS

Now I'd like to talk about other adults that the children know. Let's start with their father.

1. Do the children share the same dad? Where does he live? How has moving out here affected their relationship with him?

2. Tell me about their dad(s).

Probe:

Frequency of contact/ visitation	Location
Support to child/household	Influence on child: good/bad
Activities	Other children
Father's family	Parent socialization

3. If you had to rate the father of [EACH CHILD'S NAME], on the scale of 1 to 10 with 10 being the best what score would you give him? TMMAT.

Probe:

Frequency of contact/ visitation	What is his relationship with his child?
Support to child/household	Influence on child: good/bad

4. What do you think makes a good dad?

5. Some kids have people they really look up to other than their parents. Or they may have someone who especially looks out for them. Do the children have anyone like that? It could be family, a teacher or a friend. TMMAT person. How has this changed since the MBQ move?

Probe:

Who	Location
Relation to child/background	Influence on child: good/bad
Frequency of contact	Time spent together
Activities	Changes in relationship over time

Section 4: Income and Work

1. While sometimes having a job is a good thing, other times jobs can get in the way of other things in life, like taking care of kids. Let's talk a little bit about work. Are you working right now? Tell me a little about your current job.

[NOT WORKING] Probe: **Tell me about the last job you had. TMMAT.**

Probe:

Pay	Benefits
Location	Differences among jobs

2. Tell me the whole story of how you got [this job/your last] job. Let's start with how you first heard about it.

Probe:

Job search strategies	Application and interview
Help from neighbors	Help from friend and family
Welfare agencies/placemt services	Job skills
Resources needed for search	Formal/informal labor market activity
Location of jobs	

3. Tell me about the events that led you to leave your last job. Tell me everything that happened, step by step.

Probe:

Get whole story, start to finish	Child care
Pay	Benefits
Location, commute	Hours
Co-workers, supervisor	Work environment

[NOT WORKING] Probe: **What would you say are the two main things that are keeping you from working right now? TMMAT.**

Probe:

Education/credential	No jobs in this neighborhood
No jobs in the city	Physical health problems/disability
Mental Health	Child Care Duties
Transportation	

Are you in school, or a training program? TMMAT.

4. Are you looking for a (new) job right now? Where are you looking? What are you qualified to do?

Probe:

Job search strategies	Applications and interview
Help from neighbors	Help from friend and family

Agencies/placement	Job skills
Resources needed for search	Formal/informal labor market activity
Location of jobs	Time devoted to search

5. What makes a "good" job? What makes you want to stay at a job?

Probe:

Pay	Benefits
Location	Work environment
Work duties	Child care

6. Would you say that most of your neighbors have jobs? What kind of jobs do they have? Does it make a difference in a neighborhood when most people work? TMMAT.

7. Tell me how moving affected your job opportunities.

8. Do you or anyone in your household get cash assistance from public aid (Family Assistance Program)?

What about Food Stamps, welfare, WIC, child care subsidies, Medicaid/All Kids (CHIP), Social Security, SSI, heating/utility assistance or disability?

How about child support?

(if they are not receiving assistance, have they in the last year?)

Probe:

Who receives benefits	How much/value
Frequency	Reason

9. Sometimes people have problems receiving services from the government—they have trouble enrolling in a program like SSI or TANF. Have you ever had any problems with the services you receive or any others? What did you do when that happened?

Probe:

Get full story	Who turn to?
Treated fairly?	How could it be better?

We know things are tough for lots of people right now, so we want to really understand how things are going and how folks are doing. I'd like to ask you about the things you and your family need every month.

10. A lot of people tell us that even with income from (PUBLIC AID OR JOB), it's still hard to make ends meet. How about for you? TMMAT.

In the past year, have you ever had a month when you just didn't have enough to pay all the bills? Tell me what happened. What was going on at the time? How did you get through that?

Probe:

Which bills were missed, cut	Changes in employment
Changes in expenses	Changes in income
Sources of extra income: side work, informal economy	Outside contributions to the household such as fathers, family
Social service agency use	

Who do you turn to or what do you do? ***(Friends, family, Local Services, Neighbors, Church)***

11. Last month, how much money did your family have to live on to meet your monthly expenses (rent, utilities, gas, health insurance, clothing, phone)? (from all sources)

Section 5: Health

Now we are going to ask a few questions about how you've been feeling lately.

1. How would you rate your health at the moment (excellent, very good, good, fair, poor)? How does this compare to last year? [In your old neighborhood?]

2. Tell us about any current health problems you have. What do you do for that (e.g. see a doctor)? How are you being treated?

Probe:

Probe for conditions like asthma, high blood pressure, Diabetes, etc.

Condition, acuteness	Disability y/n
Treatment/therapy	
Effects on activity	

3. What medications do you take?

4. How has your health changed since moving to this neighborhood (if at all)? What about any experience with Asthma?

5. How about your kid/kids? How is their health? (excellent, very good, good, fair, poor) [go through each kid in turn]

Tell me about their health problems. Are there any medications that they take every day?

Probe:

Condition, acuteness	Disability y/n
Treatment/therapy	Any referrals for cognitive development intervention/ancillary care
Effects on activity	

6. How has moving to this neighborhood made any difference in your child's/children's health problems (if any)?

How about Asthma? Do any of your children have Asthma and has this changed over time?

1. How easy is it to get your prescriptions filled? Do you currently have trouble getting *care* for your medical problems?

Describe a time in the past when you had trouble getting medication/care.

Probe:

couldn't get to office/clinic	couldn't pay
couldn't get time off work	Misdiagnosis
	How moving helps or hurts access, treatment, gaps in care

2. Do you have a primary care doctor/do you go somewhere for regular check-ups?

Probe:

Managing non-acute conditions	Other preventative care?
Reproductive health?	Has a PCP?

3. How has moving affected how you get medical care? How about WHERE you get health care?

Probe:

New PCP: maybe a switch or maybe never had one	Access to clinics
Transportation	

4. [If have new doctor upon moving with MBQ]. How did you find new doctor for yourself?

Please tell us about the transition to the new doctor. What is he/she like?

Probe:

Do you feel doctor treats you differently because of your race/income?	Trust doctor? think you are getting high quality care?

5. How does moving away from the city make it better, worse, or same for your health? TMMAT

6. How about for your children, how do they get health care? Do they have a regular pediatrician?

7. How has moving affected *where* and how you get your children's health care?

Probe:

New pediatrician: maybe a switch or maybe never had one	Access to clinics
Transportation	where children received annual check ups, vaccines, prior to move and after

8. Did you get a new doctor for your child after your move?

If yes, how did you find new doctor for your child/children?
Describe the transition to the new doctor.
Describe your/your child's relationship with the medical provider

Probe:

Medical records? Were they transferred?	Previous treatments continued?
New diagnoses or medications?	

9. How does moving away from city makes it better or worse (or same) for your children's health? TMMAT

Probe:

Harder or easier to see a doctor	Continuity or discontinuity with care

10. How do you cover medical expenses for you and your children?

Probe:

Health insurance/CHIP Medicaid?	Family help
Free/community clinics	Emergency?

11. [If Medicaid or CHIP] How do you find service providers who will take Medicaid?

12. How do you get information related to your health or your children's health? (e.g. where to get health care?)

Probe:

Info from friends/family	Clinic outreach
Info from new neighbors?	School
Info from old neighbors?	Referrals

Mental Health

1. Have you been diagnosed with depression or anxiety? Are you taking any medication for that?

How about your kids?

2. What kind of things get you down? Tell me about the most recent time when you were down for a while. What did that feel like? [TWO WEEKS OR MORE]

Probe:

Duration	Frequency of episodes
Possible causes	Feeling hopeless?

What was it like for your family, your children? How did it affect your daily routine, like work and school for the kids? TMMAT.

Probe:

Work	Caring for children
Children and school, homework	Housework/meals
willingness and ability to talk with children	

How did you get through that time? Sometimes friends and relatives help us out with those things. How about for you? TMMAT.

Probe:

Support persons	Type of support given: emotional, financial, food/child care, information…
Reliability of support	multiple use of support
Relation to respondent, children	Professional services

3. What kinds of things stress you out? Tell me about the most recent time when you felt really stressed.

Probe:

Duration	Frequency of episodes
Possible causes	

What was it like for your family, your children? How did it affect your daily routine, like work and school for the kids? TMMAT.

Probe:

Work	Caring for children
Children and school, homework	Housework/meals
willingness and ability to talk with children	

How did you get through that time? Sometimes friends and relatives help us out with those things. How about for you? TMMAT.

Probe:

Support persons	Type of support given: emotional, financial, food/child care, information…
Reliability of support	multiple use of support
Relation to respondent, children	Professional services

4. Who do you go to when you have a problem and need to talk about things?

Probe:

Person	Relation to respondent
Location	

1. Many parents find it hard to have the opportunity to do much physical activity like walking or exercising. How about you?

Probe:

Walking (to bus/work/child care)	Exercise
Local amenities: gyms, parks, safe streets	Other recreation
Other 'functional' activities: park with kids, etc.	

2. What about your children/child? Tell me about their regular physical activities?

How has this changed since moving?

Probe:

Walking (to school, bus, etc.)	Playground
Team sports	Biking/skating, etc.
P.E. in school	Local amenities: gyms, parks, safe streets

3. Where do you and your family get food?

How has this changed since moving with MBQ? If so, TMMAT. How has the move changed your eating habits, if at all?

Probe:

Fast food	Grocery store
Restaurants	Find out if using neighborhood food sources

4. How has moving made any of your health related habits better or worse? TMMAT.

Probe:

Smoking	Drinking
Taking care of self	Exercise

5. How healthy are people living in this new neighborhood (post MBQ) compared to your last neighborhood?

What do people do differently here in terms of food, physical activity, and health care?

SECTION 6: RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY ROSTER CLEAN UP CHECK

I know we talked lots earlier about all the places you've lived, and I wanted to make sure I got them right before we leave. The stories you told were so interesting--let's go over them to make sure I got all the details right for the addresses!

[USE HOUSE PROP FOR THIS]

SECTION 7: FUTURE

1. As we close, I'd like to hear about your hopes and dreams for the future. Tell me what you'd like to see happen for yourself.

2. What are your hopes for your children's futures? What do want them to do, to be, or to avoid along the way?

3. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me before we end. Anything that you think I've missed or that I should know?

Section 8: Closing

Thank you very much. I really appreciate your time and everything you have told me. I'll leave a copy of the consent form for you, as well as my card and phone numbers for you to call in case you have any questions. Thank you for talking so freely about your life and your experiences. At some point next year, I may want to come back and talk to you again. If you move, I'd like to come and talk to you in your new place once you settle in. Would you be interested in that? GREAT!

Youth Interview Guide

NEIGHBORHOODS AND SCHOOLS STUDY: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR YOUTH

Draft 5/21/2012

INTRODUCTION

SCRIPT DRAFT

My name is _____ and I am with Johns Hopkins University. Thank you for agreeing to again participate in our study. Today we will be talking about your family, your neighborhood, your schools and your friends. I'm interested in your life story, but we will talk mostly about places you've lived and schools you've attended.

I have some questions in mind, and I'm sure you will have some things you want to talk about too. So think of this as a conversation between friends, rather than an "interview." You can stop talking at any time. If I raise an issue or ask a question you don't want to talk about, just say so and we will move on to something else. No big deal.

I'm going to record our conversation because I don't want to take many notes during the interview. This way, I can really concentrate on what you have to say. If you want me to turn the tape off for any reason or at any time, just say so. No one will hear the tape except for the research team and the secretary who transcribes it. Then we erase the tape. We take out your name and any other identifying information from the transcript. In other words, no one will know who you are, but a lot of people will hear what you have to say, because we think it's important. Nothing you say can be traced back to you, nor will your participation affect any programs you or your family participate in.

We ask people to choose a pseudonym, or a fake name, that we can use for your stories. We write this name on the tape and that way your real name isn't attached to any of this information. What name would you like to choose? Sometimes people think it's fun to pick the name of a movie star, singer or athlete.

Is it okay if I turn on the tape recorder now? **[INTERVIEWER GET VERBAL CONSENT.]**

The tape recorder is now on. **[INTERVIEWER: MAKE THIS STATEMENT AFTER YOU HAVE TURNED ON THE TAPE RECORDER. STATE YOUR NAME, THE RESPONDENT'S PSEUDONYM, AND THE DATE.]**

Any questions?

OK, let's start.

COMMON PHRASES AND INSTRUCTIONS:
*TMMAT= "Tell me more about that." Probe for narrative and details.
* Get whole story from start to finish = Get whole story, including who, what, where, when, and how it happened. What else was going on at the time? How did respondent feel? Was it typical/unusual--why?

WARM UP

Tell me a little bit about yourself?

Where did you grow up?	Who lives here with you?
Other places you stay?	Who do you hang out with? Cousins/friends
Music? TV Shows? Sports?	Your favorite things to do?

Tell me about your family members.

Describe each one. What are they like?	Who lives here with you?
Who do you see most often?	**Brothers and sisters?** What are they like? Where do they live? Where do you see them in person?
What do you all do together?	Are there any family members you don't see very often?
Cousins? Aunts? Uncles?	Do you all get together on the holidays? TMMAT
Get along? Fights?	

Tell me about your friends

Describe each one. What are they like?	What do you all do together?
Who do you see most often?	How and when did you meet them?

Out of the friends we just talked about who are you closest with? What do you call the friends that you are closest with? Do you call them friends or something else?
Purpose is to get at whether they use different language for friends than actually the word friend.

What do you plan to do during the summer?

Church?	Hang out with friends? Where?

Jobs? (youthworks, etc.) how did you find out about this activity? Tell me about the reasons you chose it.	How often do you do things inside? Video games, facebook, computer games
How often do you do things outside? What do you like to do? Bike, swim, etc…	

SECTION A. FOR THOSE STILL IN HIGH SCHOOL:
I'd like to start off by asking you to tell me a little about your experience at school and what it was like when you had to change schools.

1. **Before we talk about your current school, I'd like to hear about some of your old schools. Tell me about the first school you went to.**

What did you like about each school?	What did you dislike about each school?
Describe the kids who went to the school?	Tell me about your teachers?
Tell me about your friends?	How did you end up leaving that school?
How did you end up going to that school? Zoned school, close to family member's house, used someone else's address, better school, etc…	What grades did you go to that school for? Who decided where you should go to school?

Probe: Have respondent walk through each school and explain why they left that school and went to another. As they name their schools, fill in the list for each grade.

For each move, ask: **"So how did you end up there, how did that happen? How did you feel about that?"** *We want to probe for story on each school move, especially if it was due to something other than a residential move or natural transition from elementary to middle or middle to high school. Ask about friends, teachers, or other adults in each school they left. We want to understand broken ties and networks.*

IF RESPONDENT STAYED AT SAME SCHOOL THROUGH MBQ MOVE:
What were the reasons you stayed at the same school?
Who decided that you should stay there?
Assess whether they stayed at the old school to finish the year or more but changed for the next school year?
If they stayed in their old school, how did that arrangement work and who did they live or stay with during that time?

2. **Out of all the schools you have gone to which is the best school? What makes it the best school?**
   Probe: This is not just a comparison of schools after the MBQ move but all of the schools they have attended.
   Probe: People tell us that some schools are harder than others, or some schools don't give much homework and the teachers don't push them as hard, etc. Can you tell me about any differences you've experienced like that?

3. **Tell me what school you are going to in the fall.**
   Probe: Where are they planning to go to high school (if in 8th grade), are they excited, nervous, etc.?

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE STUDENT'S CURRENT SCHOOL:
PROBE: AS FREQUENTLY AS POSSIBLE GET THE RESPONDENT TO COMPARE CURRENT SCHOOL TO PAST SCHOOL ON THE TOPICS THESE QUESTIONS ADDRESS

4. **How do you get to school and back each day? How long does it take you?**

5. **In a typical week, how often do you go to school and stay the whole day?**

6. **In a typical week, how often do you choose not to go to school or cut (hook) for some of the day? What do you usually do instead? Where? With whom?**

7. **What are your favorite subjects? What are you especially good at in school?**

8. **What about afterschool?**

Why did you join that activity or sport?	
How long involved?	Friends also involved?

9. **Some students have told us that their schools have some classes that are harder than others, and other kids tell us that all the classes seem the same at their school. How about for you?**

   Probe: If they describe tracking: Do different types of students end up in the harder classes than the easier classes at your school.

Race?	Rich kids vs. not so rich kids
Do kids in different classes dress differently?	Do the kids have different ways of speaking?

Are there different types of teachers for these different classes? Race, skill, etc…	Are kids friends with the people they take classes with or do kids in different tracks hang out? What about for you?

Probe: Have the student compare any tracking experiences in their current school to previous schools. We want to know this in particular for the pre- and post-MBQ move schools.

10. **Tell me about the rules at your school? Do you think the rules are fair? Do you think all kids get treated fairly?**

11. **If I were a new student at the school what would you tell me I needed to do in order for the teachers to like me? What would I need to do if I didn't want to get in trouble?**

12. **Tell me about the last time you got in trouble at school. [Get the full story]**

13. **Some students have told us that some kids get in trouble way more than other kids at school. How about for you?**

Probe: If they describe differences in disciplinary practices we want to ask them to describe the kids who typically get in trouble more and the kids who typically do not get in trouble.
Tell me about the kids at your school gets in trouble a lot? And tell me about the kids who don't get in trouble very often? *Following the rules, race, dress, language, intelligence, are they the popular kids, etc…*

Probe: Have the student compare any differential disciplinary treatment in their current school to previous schools. We want to know this in particular for the pre- and post-MBQ move schools.

14. **Tell me about what you do when you hang out with your friends or associates from school.**

Where do you hang out – just at school, outside of school? Get neighborhood names (can use map)	How often do you hang out with them away from the school?
How are they different than friends from the neighborhood? How are they different than other friends of yours?	Focus on getting specifics, rather than just "the mall" or "the movies" ask for stories.

15. **What kind of grades do you get in your typical Math or English class at your high school?**

What do your parents think about your grades in Math and English?	What kind of grades do the "popular" kids get?
Tell me about any teasing that happens. /around grades.	Is it different for boys and girls? TMMAT

16. **Tell me about other activities you've been involved with in high school – sports, step team, yearbook, clubs?**

How did you hear about it?	What made you decide to do it?
How long involved?	Friends also involved?

17. **Does the school have a nurse? How often did you go to nurse? What are some of the reasons you went to the nurse?**

COMPARING SCHOOL BEFORE AND AFTER MBQ MOVE- USE SCHOOL PROP

Interviewer should know which move was the MBQ move in terms of address to try and be able to help the respondent articulate the correct school comparison.

[NOTE FOR INTERVIEWER: You will be asking student to describe 2 schools and then to compare and contrast them, describing the major differences. The probes are the same for the two description questions and the comparison questions. If the respondent's current school is their only post-MBQ school jump straight into description of pre-MBQ school and then comparison with current school. YOU DO NOT NEED TO GET EVERYTHING ONTO THE ACTUAL PROP, IT IS JUST AN AID TO HELP THE KIDS VISUALIZE AND REMEMBER. USE IT AS NEEDED.]

IF CURRENT SCHOOL IS THE POST-MBQ SCHOOL SAY: So, you just told me a lot about your current school. We want to understand some of the differences between schools in the Baltimore area. Now, I'm going to ask you to compare your current school to the school you attended before moving out here. As we talk, I'm going to fill out this grid to keep track of what you are saying. I'm just going to write down key words here, but as always I'm really interested in hearing stories and examples of all this stuff.

IF CURRENT SCHOOL IN NOT POST-MBQ SCHOOL SAY: We know that all schools are different. You just told me a lot of great information about your current school. Now I'm going to ask you some questions about two other schools you have attended. As we talk, I'm going to fill out this grid to keep track of what you are

saying. I'm just going to write down key words here, but as always I'm really interested in hearing stories and examples of all this stuff.

USING THE PROP:

18. Let's talk about the school you want to right before you moved to the county. If I were to take a video camera into that school what would be recorded?

What does the school look like on the outside? How many floors? How about the inside? Hallways, Lockers, graffiti, metal detector, bathrooms etc…	What types of noises would it capture? What do kids talk about in the halls? How much do the teachers yell? What do they yell about? Would you hear music? Etc…
Tell me what the classrooms would look like on the tape. Are there some that look very different from other rooms? What did your favorite teacher's room look like? Desks, decorations?	What types of interactions between teachers and students would we see on the tape in the morning? How about during class? After school?
Describe the teachers. What do they look like and sound like when they are teaching? What would they be doing? How old are they? Race, fairness, ability to control their classroom, attitude?	Tell me about your classrooms. How many students would we see? What types of things are you learning?
What would the people look like? What would they be wearing? Uniforms or not? Carrying purses or bags? What race are they? Gender? Hair style? Etc…	Tell me about the students. Race, dress, attitude, typical behaviors, norms around behaviors. What would people be doing? Talking on phones? Fighting? Running? Carrying books? If the camera was going to video tape a fight where would you have to go?
Was there much fighting at the school? How often did kids fight? What usually got fights started? Where did the fights take place? Tell me about the last fight you saw at this school.	**Did some kids get in trouble more than others at this school? Tell me about the kids who got in trouble the most. Tell me about the kids who didn't get in trouble.**
How hard are the classes? How did the teachers and principal decide which kids were in which class? If the video camera went into a hard class what would it look like? How about an easy class? (this is about tracking/ability grouping)	

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20. Tell me about the biggest differences in the school you went to before you moved to the county and the school you went to after?

What does the school look like on the outside? How many floors? How about	What types of noises would it capture? What do kids talk about in

the inside? Hallways, Lockers, graffiti, metal detector, bathrooms etc…	the halls? How much do the teachers yell? What do they yell about? Would you hear music? Etc…
Tell me what the classrooms would look like on the tape. Are there some that look very different from other rooms? What did your favorite teacher's room look like? Desks, decorations?	What types of interactions between teachers and students would we see on the tape in the morning? How about during class? After school?
Describe the teachers. What do they look like and sound like when they are teaching? What would they be doing? How old are they? Race, fairness, ability to control their classroom, attitude?	Tell me about your classrooms. How many students would we see? What types of things are you learning?
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How hard are the classes? How did the teachers and principal decide which kids were in which class? If the video camera went into a hard class what would it look like? How about an easy class? (this is about tracking/ability grouping)	

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND COMPARISON – PROP NO LONGER NECESSARY

21. How did you decide which school to go to school after you moved to the county?

Who made the choice about where you would go to school? You, your mom, another adult	Did you go see the school before you started your first day?

Why did you choose to go to that school? Zoned school, close to family member's house, used someone else's address, better school, etc…	Where you worried at all or excited at all about the new school?

22. When you first got to the new school was there anyone who helped you out adjusting to school? *Teachers, other students, cousins, siblings, administrators, counselors?*

23. Some students have told us that the types of students who go to the county schools are different from the types of students who go to the city schools and some have told us the kids are pretty much the same. How about for you?

Probe: If the students do seem different what types of things are the noticeable differences? What is good and what is bad about these differences?

24. **When you first went to school in the county was it hard making friends or easy? How did you start making friends? What types of kids are the ones you like? Which kids did you avoid making friends with, and why?**
Probe: Ask about the reason they started friendships with the kids they mention. Was it to stay out of trouble? The kids were cool? They lived nearby? Etc…

25. **Some students have told us that at their new schools there were not students from very many different races and other students said their schools were very diverse. What was your school like? What types of students attend your school?**
Probe: Does it make a difference if there are students of different races at your school? If so what changes at school when there are more black kids versus more white kids?
Probe: How is this different than the school you went to before you moved with MBQ?

26. Do kids of different races at your school hang out together or do they mostly hang out only with other kids like themselves?

POSTSECONDARY PLANS

27. What are your plans for what you'll do right after you graduate from high school?

28. Thinking of starting college in the fall? If so, where? Tell me how you made up your mind about this.

29. Thinking of starting a training program? If so, where? Tell me how you made up your mind about this.

Probe: How does it matter where you go to college? (getting at advantages of attending more/less selective school)

30. Tell me about what people at your school – including counselors or teachers have said to you about going to college.
Probe: Get details past the vague aspiration language. Find out if he/she has had one-on-one conversations with the counselor, teacher, or another institutional adult about steps to get into college. Find out what steps he/she has taken to that end.

Do college recruiters come to school (just for local colleges?)?	Counselors or teachers talk about applications, what it takes to get into college and do well?
Tell me about who has talked to you or helped you with figuring out how to pay for college.	Have they talked to you about taking specific high school classes to prepare for college? Which classes?
If students made MBQ move around junior or senior year ask about whether there are differences in college assistance in the pre-and post- MBQ move schools.	SAT, ACT, etc

31. Tell me about what people at your school – including counselors or teachers have said to you about going to a training program.
Probe: These are programs like nursing assistant, physician's assistant, etc.

Do recruiters for training programs come to school?	Tell me about who has talked to you or helped you with figuring out how to pay for training programs.

32. Tell me about other people in your life – friends, family members, neighbors – who have given you advice about going to college.
Probe: Who, if anyone, helped you with getting paperwork, filling it out, and applying (for admission and financial aid)? Tell me the whole story around that.

33. Tell me about the whole process of how you go about starting college. What do you have to do first?

34. Tell me about how you plan to pay for college/training program. How much does it cost? Can you get loans/scholarships?

35. Tell me about other people in your life – friends, family members, neighbors – who have given you advice about going to a training program.
Probe: Who, if anyone, helped you with getting paperwork, filling it out, and applying (for admission and financial aid)? Tell me the whole story around that.

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE DROPPED OUT OF SCHOOL

36. What school were you attending when you dropped out of high school?

37. Tell me the story about how you dropped out of high school.

a. **If you had to choose the main reason as to why you stopped going to high school, what would it be?**

Was there something in particular that happened? (pregnancy, employment, family hardship, expulsion, issues with teachers or principal, fights with other students) TMMAT.	Or did you just gradually stop going? TMMAT. (Include parents' reaction)

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE GRADUATED

38. Sometimes it's really rough to be able to stay in high school and graduate. Tell me about how you were able to do it.

39. What do you think was the most important reason why you stayed in school and graduated?

a. Probe: if the student moved with MBQ in their junior or senior year probe on whether the school changes contributed at all to staying in school.

40. Did you ever think about not going to high school anymore? Tell me about what happened and how you decided to stay in school.

For those in a GED program or who have a GED:

41. Tell me about how you decided to get your GED.

Others in your family or friends get their GED?	Did you think it would help you in getting a job?
GED vs. high school diploma, in your view?	What is the process of getting a GED like? What did you have to do in order to get in a program? Transportation? Cost? Etc…

GENERAL WELL-BEING

Sometimes kids tell us that they get stressed out by school, friends and family stuff. How about for you? What do you do when you feel that way? Who do you talk to?

SECTION **B: NEIGHBORHOODS and HOUSEHOLD ROSTERS**

Let's talk about some of the different places you've lived.

1. **Let's start out with where you were born. How about where you were living when you were in elementary school? After that? [1st grade? 3rd grade? 7th? 10th? Etc..]**

   Probe: Have respondent walk through each residential change and explain why they moved.

   For each move, ask: **"So how did you end up there, how did that happen? How did you feel about that? Who decided that you would live there?"**

Who all was living there with you?	What did you like best?
What didn't you like?	Which move was with MBQ?

MBQ MOVE(S) AND COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS MOVES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

Wow you have lived in a few different neighborhoods. I want to get you to tell me all about a few of those neighborhoods. Let's start by talking about what it was like to move to ----- [MBQ neighborhood].

2. **Tell me the story of moving to a new neighborhood in the county? Was that move different than the other times you moved? If so how?**

3. **How did you feel about moving to the county?**

   Probe: Ask about how they felt about the neighborhood. Ask about how they felt about the new unit and how it compared to previous units.

4. **Are there any relatives that you don't see anymore because you moved to the county?**
   Probe: Who do you not see? How often did you see these relatives before? What is the main reason you did not see them after you moved? How do you feel about that?

5. **Are there any Friends/associates that you don't see anymore because you moved to the county?**

6. **Who all moved with you to the new neighborhood in the county?**

7. **Tell me about anyone not living with you here that you used to live with? How did that happen? How did you feel about that?**

Parents? Siblings?	Cousins
Grandparents?	

8. **We know that sometimes people 'stay' with relatives for just a little while, here and there between places. Tell me about any family members who have stayed with you?**
    a. *Probe on both children staying and also their parent's partners staying as well as any other adults. What do you like about when people stay? Is there anything you don't like?*

9. **Tell me about the last time you (or one of your siblings) went to stay with someone else overnight for a few nights. Where do you usually go? Who do you stay with? What is the best part about staying there? Is there anything you don't like about it?**

10. **Let's take a regular week. Tell me how many nights you sleep here. Where else do you sleep?**

    How is it different at X compared to Y? Tell me about the rules, chores. How do you feel when you are at X compared to Y?

Food? Safe?	How often get together
Is the typical week of where you stay different during school?	How are you similar/different from them?
Where do you keep most of your stuff?	Where do people sleep?

11. **What were the biggest differences in the neighborhood you lived in before and the neighborhood you moved to in the county?**

Who all was living there with you?	What did you like best?
What didn't you like?	What type of folks lived in the neighborhood?
Where there people your age that you could hang out with?	What types of things did you do in the old and new neighborhoods? Rec center, sports, parks, mall, etc.
Could you walk to the store? Old vs. new	Further probe on physical activity. Could they play outside? What types of outdoor activities?
Interactions with police.	

12. **Out of all the places you have lived which one did you like the best? Tell me more about that.**

13. **Where did/do you feel happiest? Most comfortable? Which place is most like home? TMMAT** *Really get at why.*

CURRENT NEIGHBORHOOD QUESTIONS

1. **Current neighborhood questions—open-ended exploration of neighborhood**

What do people around here call this area?	How long have you lived here?
How would you describe this neighborhood to someone who's never been here?	What's the neighborhood you lived in longest when you were a teen? TMMAT.

2. **Where do you hang out in your neighborhood now? TMMAT.**

Presence and reaction of neighbors/ police	What do you do? With whom?
Frequency	Location– corner? Basketball court? Stoop?
Spend time inside? Activities? With whom?	

3. **What do you do around here for fun? Do you generally hang out at people's houses or do you go to park/play outside? What do your friends like to do?**
Probe: We want to get a bit at their physical activity and their general description of whether they choose to be sedentary or active when they can choose what to do during their free time at home in the neighborhood.
Probe: Try to get the respondent to describe why they do those activities. Is it that their friends do them? It is safer to stay inside than go outside? Etc..

4. **What neighborhoods do you go to...**

Visit family and friends	Go for jobs/hustles / How do you get there?
Hang out with friends	Go to school in

5. **Tell me about other neighborhoods (including previous ones you've lived in) you regularly visit or hang out in.**

Presence and reaction of neighbors/ police	What do you do?

Frequency	Location– corner? Basketball court? Stoop?

6. **How often do you go to the neighborhood you lived in before you moved to the county? What is the main reason you go back to visit?**
   Probe: Hang out with friends, see family, go to school, participate in an activity, etc…
   Probe: How do you get there when you go visit? Is it hard to go back? If so, would you go more often if it was easier to get there? Do you wish you went less often?

NOTE: FOR QUESTIONS 7-16 FOLLOWING NEIGHBORHOOD QUESTIONS PROBE ON DIFFERENCE BEFORE AND AFTER MBQ MOVE

7. **How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? How do you stay safe?**

Strategies – what areas to avoid, how did they learn this?	Differences day and night
Violence (type and frequency)	Gangs in neighborhood?
Carry anything for protection?	

Probe: check on differences in these safety strategies before and after MBQ move

8. **Some kids tell us that their parents make them stay in the house to stay safe other kids tell us that their parents have certain rules they have to follow when they go outside. How about for you? How do you feel about that?**

Strategies – what areas you have to avoid?	Differences day and night
curfew	People you can't hang out with

Probe: check on differences in these safety strategies before and after MBQ move

9. **Some kids tell us that it is important to be "known" in the neighborhood? What does that mean to you? Tell me about other neighborhoods where you are "known"**

10. **What's it like in your neighborhood in terms of people using and/or selling drugs? Out in the open? Do people ever ask you to hold a package? TMMAT**
    Probe: check on differences in these safety strategies before and after MBQ move

11. **What about in terms of fighting in the neighborhood? What do people fight about? Tell me about groups of people who fight each other.**
    Probe: make sure to compare to previous neighborhoods, specifically pre-MBQ

12. Has anything happened in the last 6 months that made you feel unsafe? TMMAT.
Probe: Get whole story, start to finish

13. What do you do when you need to go somewhere in your neighborhood after dark? Walk me through that.

Now imagine that it's your boyfriend/girlfriend going? How about a younger sister/brother (same sex sibling)?
Probe: Get specific stories if possible. Try to get at safety concerns, avoiding corners, what they would wear, people hollering at you/them – anything more serious than that, etc.)

(For females): What is it like as a female to walk around in your neighborhood? Do boys and men say things to you that make you feel uncomfortable? Have you had experiences or have you felt threatened that they may grab you or touch you? TMMAT.

(For males): What's it like for your sister...

14. How do grownups treat kids in this neighborhood? How was it in other neighborhoods you've lived in? Do the neighbors call the cops on kids?
Probe: What kinds of things do young people around here do that gets neighbors/you upset?
Probe: Is this different in pre- and post-MBQ neighborhoods
Probe: Do grownups treat kids differently because of their race?

15. Sometimes neighborhoods have certain rules—like in some places, it might be fine to sit on the stoop or hang out on the corner, but in others neighbors might complain. What is it like here?
Aim:Sense of NH norms about public behavior

16. Tell me about your experiences with the cops. What about the knockers? Are they different in this neighborhood than in other neighborhoods you have lived in?

Get all the details of the last time this happened	Location is important – where has this happened
Race/ethnicity of people hanging out with	Race/ethnicity of cops
Do cops speak differently to kids of different races?	

17. What do you like best/least about living here? TMMAT.

18. **Tell me about the best/worst neighborhoods you ever lived in.**

19. **We often hear people say, "it's not where you live, but how you live"— what does that mean to you? do you think that's true? TMMAT.**

SECTION **C: FRIENDS**

1. **Tell me about your two closest friends.**

Where/when you met them (specifically find out if met them at school & which school)	How often get together
Live nearby?	How are you similar/different from them?

2. **Tell me about who you choose to hang out with in your neighborhood. Describe some of these friends or associates. What kind of people (if anyone) do you choose to avoid?**
   Probe: different from school friends? Gangs or cliques?

3. **Tell me about having to make new friends when you moved with MBQ. Was it harder to make new friends after this move?**

   Probe: When you start making new friends in a new neighborhood and a new school how do you decide what type of people you think would be good friends?

4. **How often do you see your friends in the old neighborhood? How do you communicate with them most often? What do you guys do when you get together? Do they ever come to your house or do you usually go visit them?**
   a. *Facebook, phone calls, texts, visits – if so how do you visit, etc…*
      i. *If Facebook is a large part of their social interaction probe more on their interactions on Facebook and its influence on their social relationships.*
   b. *Was it hard to stay friends with people after you left the neighborhood?*

5. **Was there anyone in particular you were talking to/dating in the old neighborhood? How often do you see him/her? Are you all still hanging out?**
   Probe: How did you meet? What do you do together?

6. **Do you hang out with cousins, friends from school, friends from your current neighborhoods, or friends from your old neighborhood most often? Which group of friends are you closest with? And which groups overlap (e.g. current neighborhood and school)?**

7. **Who do you trust? What makes you trust them?**

Who's got your back?	

If someone started hassling you, who could you count on?	

SECTION D: FAMILY

1. **Who is like family to you?**

Where do they live?	What kinds of things do you do with that person?
Where do you see that person?	When/How often do you see that person?

WRITE DOWN NEW NAMES OF PEOPLE AS THEY GET MENTIONED.

2. **You mentioned a few different women who are like family to you. Who is most like a mother figure to you? When do you see her? Where do you spend time with her? What do you like to do with her?**

What you admire about her	What was it like growing up with her?
Does she have a boyfriend or husband? --how long been together, relationship with you	Employment
Strict/overprotective	Jail, drugs, etc
Examples of supporting you (financial and/or emotional)	

FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT REPORT MOTHER AS MOTHER FIGURE:

3. **So you mentioned that grandma/aunt/sister etc., was most like a mother figure to you. Tell me about your mom. When do you see her? Where do you spent time with her? What do you like to do with her?**

What you admire about her	Does she have a boyfriend or husband? -- how long been together, relationship with you

So we have talked about a lot of people so far, but mostly about your mom and women you look up to as mother figures. We also want to talk a little bit about your dad and other father figures.

4. **When you were growing up did your dad ever LIVE with you? How about any of your siblings' dads? What about mom's boyfriends? Did any ever STAY with you?**

a. *What is the difference if someone just stays with you instead of living with you?*

5. **Are things different in the house when one of your dad's or a boyfriend of your mom lives with you? What types of things are different? TMMAT.**
   a. *For each mention of a man in the house cover who was in charge of discipline, who helped get them to and from school, who helped them get the things they needed for school such as clothes and shoes and stuff.*

6. **We've talked to some young people who see their father a lot, and others not so much. How about you? TMMAT.**

Frequency of contact/ visitation	Where father lives
Financial support to child/household	Activities they do together
Contact with father's family	

7. **Tell me about what he is like.**

Strict/overprotective	Employment
Examples of supporting you (financial and/or emotional)	Jail, drugs, etc

8. **When you mentioned who is most like family to you, you mentioned several different men, who in your life is most like a father to you? Tell me about him.**
   Note: If the respondent says no one, ask if there used to be someone, and ask questions about that person and why the relationship is no longer so significant.

How do you know this person?	Where do they live?
Frequency of being with them/what they do together.	What youth admires about him

9. **How about other adults in your life who care about you, and want to help you? Tell me about that person (those people).**

How do you know this person? (frequency of being with them)	Where do they live?
Relation	What youth admires about him/her

10. **Some people tell us that their mom has struggled with issues of alcohol or drug use. How about for you? How about your dad?**

IF THEY MENTION ANYONE STAYING W/ FAMILY OR MOVING IN FOR A TIME

11. **Sometimes kids tell us that it can be stressful when someone comes to stay with your family or live with you and sometimes kids tell us that it can be really helpful when someone comes to stay or moves in with you. How about for you? What types of things are stressful when someone comes to stay or moves in? What things are helpful or fun?**

SECTION E: CONCLUSION

Okay, we're pretty much at the end here and I just wanted to end up our conversation by looking back and looking forward.

1. **Tell me about where you see yourself five years from now. What do you need to get there?**

Plans for future education	Job goals – what do you need to get these types of jobs?
How are you planning to financially support yourself?	

2. **Do you think you want to have a family (or children) some day? TMMAT.**
   Probe: Do you want to have girls or boys? TMMAT
   Probe: How many kids do you want to have? TMMAT

3. **Do you think you want to get married some day? TMMAT**
   Probe: What is a good age to get married?
   Probe: What qualities would you look for in someone you might consider marrying?

4. **Where would you like to raise your kids? TMMAT.**

   Probe: In a neighborhood you used to live in? In this current neighborhood? In a different neighborhood from the one you grew up?
   Probe: Are there things you want to do raising your kids that are different from the way you grew up? TMMAT.

5. **Is there anything else you'd like to tell me before we end? Anything that you think I've missed or that I should know?**

CLOSING

Thank you very much. I really appreciate your time and everything you have told me. I'll leave a copy of the consent form for you, as well as my card and phone numbers for you to call in case you have any questions. Thank you for talking so freely about your life and your experiences.

Academic Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

Johns Hopkins University

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology 2017

Master of Arts in Sociology 2012

Boston College

Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Philosophy May 2010

AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation Dissertation Fellow 2015-2017

Johns Hopkins University Dean's Teaching Fellowship 2016

Johns Hopkins Sociology Peabody Scholar in Sociology of Education 2014-2015

Institute of Education Sciences Pre-Doctoral Fellow 2012-2015

Johns Hopkins Sociology Program in Social Inequality Student Paper Award 2014

Johns Hopkins University Owen Scholars Fellowship 2010-2013

PUBLICATIONS

Rhodes, Anna and Siri Warkentien. 2016. "Unwrapping the Suburban "Package Deal": Race, Class, and School Access." (Accepted at the *American Educational Research Journal*.)

Stuart, Elizabeth and **Anna Rhodes**. 2016. "Assessing the external validity of randomized trial results: A case study in the difficulties of finding sufficient data." *Evaluation Review.* Advance online publication. doi: 10.1177/0193841X16660663

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Williamson, John and **Anna Rhodes**. 2011. "A Critical Assessment of Generational Accounting and Its Contribution to the Generational Equity Debate." *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life*, 6(1):33-57.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Johns Hopkins University Dean's Teaching Fellowship Spring 2016
Sole Instructor - Housing & Schools: The Social Contexts of Inequality

Johns Hopkins University Sociology Department Fall 2011
Graduate Teaching Assistant for Introduction to Sociology

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Rhodes, Anna. 2016. "The Age of Belonging: The Intersection of Neighborhood Change and Child Development." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society. August 23. Seattle, WA.

Rhodes, Anna. 2016. "Moving Across the Urban/Suburban Divide: Student Experiences in Higher Performing Schools." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. April 11. Washington, D.C.

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Deluca, Stefanie, Philip M. Garboden, **Anna Rhodes.** 2014**. "**Expanding the Geography of Educational Opportunity: Can Housing Policy Improve the Educational Achievement of Minority Youth?" Presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. August 16. San Francisco, CA.

Rhodes, Anna and Stefanie DeLuca. 2014. "Residential Mobility and School Choice Among Poor Families." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. April 3. Philadelphia, PA.

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Williamson, John and **Anna Rhodes.** 2010. "Generational Accounting A Critical Assessment and Proposed Reframing." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. August 16. Atlanta, GA.

Williamson, John and **Anna Rhodes**. 2010. "Reframing Generational Accounting." Presented at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society. March 19. Atlanta, GA.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Educational Research Association
American Sociological Association
Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness
Population Association of America
Eastern Sociological Society